VOL. XLVI, Part 4 AUTUMN NUMBER, 1950 No. 296
Published September

THE DICKENSIAN

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ILLUSTRATED

EDITED BY LESLIE C. STAPLES

PUBLISHED BY THE DICKENS FELLOWSHIP AT
THE DICKENS HOUSE, 48 DOUGHTY STREET,
LONDON, W.C. 1

PRICE TWO SHILLINGS AND SIXPENCE
Subscription rate: Ten Shillings and Sixpence, per annum, post free.

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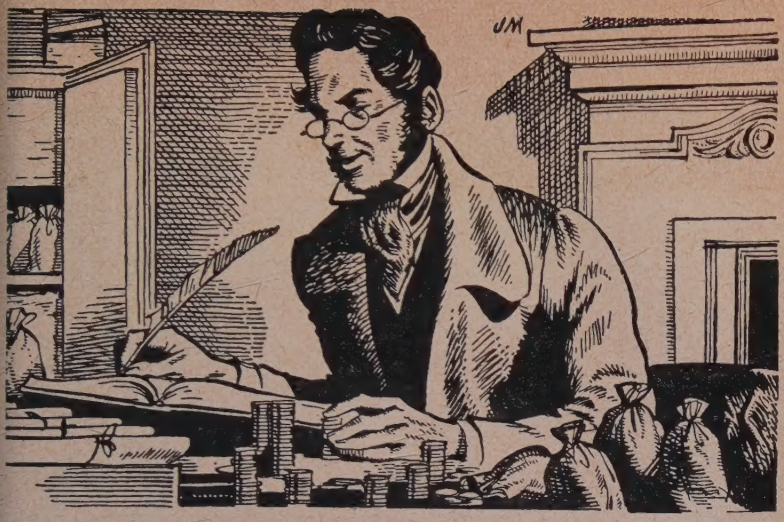

THE LONDON BANKER

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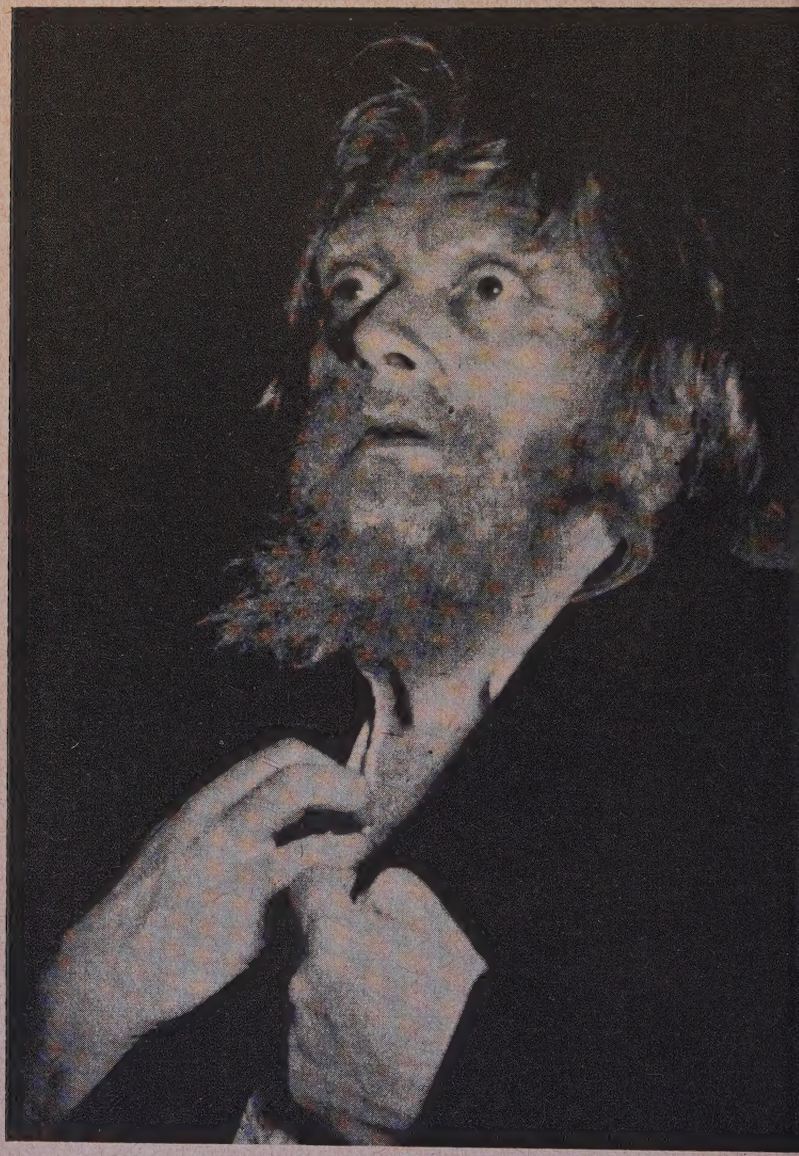


John Greaves
in Dickens's part of Aaron Gurnock in *The Lighthouse*
photographed by Brian Greaves.

(*see page* 144)

THE DICKENSIAN

AUTUMN NUMBER

VOL. XLVI. 1st SEPTEMBER 1950 No. 296

WHEN FOUND—

Our new President.

At the Conference in May, as reported on another page, Mr. L. A. G. Strong, F.R.S.L., was unanimously elected President of the Dickens Fellowship for the next two years. A member of the Irish Academy of Letters, Mr. Strong is one of our foremost novelists and one of the most distinguished literary critics of our time. His broadcasts are on the same high level. Readers of *The Dickensian* will readily agree that his appraisal of *David Copperfield*, which appeared in our number for March, shewed a penetrating insight that has few parallels in the field of Dickensian criticism. The Dickens Fellowship is honoured by Mr. Strong's acceptance of the office, and we look forward to his leadership with keen expectancy and pleasure.

L. A. G. Strong, F.R.S.L.

* * * * *

The new Vice-Presidents.

As recorded on another page, the list of the Dickens Fellowship's Vice-Presidents received some distinguished additions at the recent Conference: Mrs. Angela Thirkell, the writer of many novels of outstanding charm and merit; Mr. Collin Brooks, editor of *Truth*, whose enthusiasm for Dickens informs so much of his work; Mr. R. J. Cruikshank, editor of the *News Chronicle* whose *Roaring Century* and *Charles Dickens and*

Early Victorian England have given instruction and delight to so man of us ; Major Philip Charles Dickens, grandson of the novelist, who ha been a good friend to the Fellowship in a variety of ways ; and M T. W. Hill, who has given the Fellowship a life-time of devoted servic in almost every imaginable capacity, much of it of great value an given with that spirit of fellowship and good humour that endear him to all privileged to meet him.

* * * * *

After eighty years. On the eve of the eightieth anniversary of Dickens' death, a large number of members of the Dicken Fellowship attended the annual ceremony at West minster Abbey. At six o'clock a procession was formed at the Wes door and Canon Donaldson led the way through the South aisle of th nave to Poet's Corner, where Capt. R. C. D. Shuckburgh, great grandson of the novelist, laid a wreath of scarlet geraniums and palm leaves on the grave on behalf of the Fellowship. Canon Donaldson paid a moving tribute to the memory of the novelist whose champion ship of the cause of suffering children had been so powerful and was alas, as sorely needed to-day as ever before. At the conclusion of th ceremony Capt. Shuckburgh ably expressed the thanks of the Fellow ship for the beautiful manner in which Canon Donaldson had conducte it. It was indeed one of the most memorable of the many simila ceremonies we can remember. The Canon, now in his ninetieth year afterwards greeted many of the company, which included one of th new Vice-Presidents, Mrs. Angela Thirkell, and members from Auckland Melbourne and Sydney.

* * * * *

Professor John Butt. Professor John Butt, who occupies the chair of Englis at Durham University, and whose masterly exposition o the writing of *David Copperfield* is now delighting ou readers, has written the article on Dickens in the new edition o Chambers's Encyclopaedia. Of this article Mr. Bernard Darwin write in *Country Life* (May 5th, 1950) : " In little more than three column and yet without ever seeming to be cramped or to lack space, th writer has told us something of each of the books, has describe Dickens's methods and how they changed as the years went on, hi strengths and his weaknesses."

* * * * *

Important manuscript. At Messrs. Hodgson's rooms on June 23rd there wa sold for £120 a Dickens MS. of high importance. It wa the prospectus of *The Wits, Miscellany*, written in hi own hand on three quarto pages. Doubts which have occasionall been raised that the prospectus was the work of Dickens are thus dis pelled. The journal subsequently appeared as *Bentley's Miscellany* an was edited by Dickens. When the change in the proposed name wa announced, a wag enquired, " But why go to the other extreme ? "

* * * * *

Ralph Straus. We regret to record the death of Ralph Straus on June 5th. He had for some years suffered from very indifferent health borne with the patience which, t those who knew him, reflected the innate gentleness of disposition tha ensured him a wide circle of friends, among whom were many Dickensians. He was a Vice-President of the Dickens Fellowship. I addition to a long list of very readable novels, Straus's busy life include literary criticism that was acute, tolerant, and sympathetic toward young aspirants, bibliography of permanent value, and biography High in the list of his works is *Dickens : a Portrait in Pencil* (1928 which shewed remarkable powers of graphic narrative written in a scholarly and sensitive style, and is an excellent example of Straus'

avoidance of exaggeration and harsh outlines, especially in dealing with Dickens's domestic life. He also compiled *Dickens : the Man and the Book* (1936), a short anthology of his own selection with a connective Commentary.

* * * * *

Another loss. Death has also removed another Vice-President. Robert Hichens, the eminent novelist, whose best known book, *The Garden of Allah*, was written forty-nine years ago, has passed away at the age of nearly eighty-six.

* * * * *

Moses Pickwick. An interesting and important addition to the collections at the Dickens House is a portrait in oils of Moses Pickwick which has been presented by Mrs. T. Sturge Cotterell of Bath. The picture was inherited by Mr. Sturge Cotterell in 1934 from Cecil Sainsbury, a collateral descendant of Moses. It depicts the gentleman whose name appeared on the door of the London to Bath coach to the indignation of Sam Weller and who owned that line of coaches as well as the White Hart Inn, Bath, and the Bush Inn at Bristol. A full account of him, together with a reproduction of the portrait, appeared in *The Dickensian*, 1930, p. 105.

* * * * *

Explanation. It has been pointed out to us that what we regarded as "a slip" in Sir Charles Tennyson's recent Life of his grandfather is capable of a simple explanation. One of the sources of that book was *Tennyson and His Friends*, edited by Hallam, 2nd Lord Tennyson. The account there is mistakenly headed "The Funeral of Dickens," but the text makes it clear that it was the memorial service at which Dean Stanley preached on the following Sunday which was referred to. It is possible that Sir Charles Tennyson was using his uncle's MS. notes which would account for the slight differences from the published text. The 2nd Lord Tennyson wrote as an eye witness.

* * * * *

Nell at Tong. Little Nell took her place among the great figures of history associated with the beautiful Shropshire village of Tong when the rector, the Rev. E. J. Gargery, wrote and produced *The Spirit of Tong*, a pageant of the history of the little place which Dickens selected as the setting of the final scenes of *The Old Curiosity Shop*. Several performances were given in June in an attractive sylvan setting and large audiences from all over the Midlands gathered to witness it. Nell was the only fictional character among the host of people represented, some of whom lie buried beneath the splendid sculptured tombs in Tong Church. Charles II, who hid in the "royal oak" at Boscobel, only a few miles away, was included. But Mr. Gargery wrote more than a pageant; it was couched in the form of a mediaeval mystery and, we understand, was found by the audiences to be deeply impressive.

* * * * *

Blundeston. The annual pilgrimage organised by Headquarters of the Dickens Fellowship was this year the longest on record. In celebration of the centenary of *David Copperfield*, the village of Blundeston was visited on June 14th. This entailed a departure at 8 a.m. when more than sixty members boarded two motor-coaches for what proved to be the happiest day in spite of very disappointing weather. A halt was made at Ipswich where, through the kindness of ex-Mayor G. A. Mallet, a visit was paid to the White Horse Hotel, and everyone was permitted to see the bedroom in which Mr. Pickwick found himself in company with the lady in the yellow curl-papers. Lowestoft was reached in time for an excellent luncheon,

served in the ballroom of the Royal Hotel, where David was mystifie by Mr. Murdstone's reference to "Brooks of Sheffield." Away again t Blundeston, where the Vicar, the Rev. Cyril H. Hubbins, received ther at the church and later conducted them over the vicarage, the generall accepted original of "The Rookery," Blunderstone. Tea was take at the Star Hotel, Yarmouth, the hotel where David stayed wit Steerforth, and after a tour of the town to look at the other inn associated with the novel and the site of Peggotty's boathouse, th party turned for home, and London was reached at 10-30 p.m.

* * * * *

Dickens Lake. Men of the North-West Mounted Police who brough law and order to the Canadian West during its pionee days, will, it is announced, be commemorated by place names on Saskatchewan maps. One of two lakes, fifty miles north-eas of Lac la Ronge, is to be known as Dickens Lake in memory of Franci Jeffrey Dickens, third son of the novelist, who, as an inspector in th force and commanding officer at Fort Pitt, played an important rôl in combating the North-West Rebellion of 1885.

* * * * *

Dickens in Kensington. The housing estate in Becher Street, North Kensington is to be known as Henry Dickens Court, out of compli ment to Dickens's grandson, Mr. Henry Charles Dickens Chairman of Kensington's Housing Committee and Life-President o the Dickens Fellowship. The blocks will bear the names of Copperfiel Pickwick, Dorrit, Carton, Marley, Estella, Agnes, Dora and Florence

* * * * *

A plea for fairness. If Mr. Hesketh Pearson and Mr. Jack Lindsay desire in their recent books, to arouse disapproval and son disdain they seem to have been successful on both side of the Atlantic. Professor Edward Wagenknecht, Professor of Englis at Boston University, has written an article entitled "Dickens an the Scandalmongers" in the American magazine *College English* fo April, assailing Mr. Pearson's treatment of Dickens's friendship wit Ellen Ternan, and Mr. Donal O'Sullivan, M.R.I.A., has reviewed bot Mr. Pearson's book and that of Mr. Lindsay in an article appearing i the Irish quarterly *Studies*, for June, pointing out that both writer base their account of this matter on sources which provide no re evidence whatever.

* * * * *

Cobham Cricket Centenary. On Whit Monday two auspicious events were celebrate in Mr. Pickwick's village of Cobham: the village cricke club reached its centenary and the new playing field were declared open and dedicated to the memory o those who fell in the recent war. The two events were combined i the happiest manner. The opening ceremony was performed b Maj.-Gen. C. W. Norman, High Sheriff of Kent, and the dedicatio performed by the Vicar of Cobham, the Rev. Arthur Clarke. Ther in the presence of an enormous crowd, the Cobham Cricket Club playe a team from Blue Bell Hill, all the players wearing the costume of hundred years ago and conforming to cricket rules then in force. Th new playing fields are in a particularly beautiful setting and in th brilliant sunshine, with many spectators also in Dickensian costume the scene was delightful. After luncheon, at the Leather Bottle, whe further appropriate speeches were delivered, the great event was th arrival of Mr. Pickwick and his companions on a stage coach. Cricke was forgotten as the smart equipage drove round the field to the accon paniment of the cheers of the crowd, Mr. Pickwick, on the box, wavin his hat in acknowledgement. It was a triumph for Mr. Frederick Baine

the new and energetic Hon. Secretary of the Rochester Branch of the Fellowship, who had conceived the plan and carried it out so successfully, through the generosity of the *News Chronicle*. Mr. Pickwick (really Mr. Fred Kendall, who refused to allow a broken ankle, set deep in plaster, to abate one jot of his authentic good humour) had been joined by Messrs. Wardle, Tupman, Snodgrass, Weller and Jingle, together with Emily Wardle, Arabella Allen and Mary, at the Bull Inn in Rochester. Climbing on to the coach, they had set off about eleven o'clock. Cheers and broad smiles greeted them all the way through the lovely Kentish lanes, which were looking their best in their early summer dress. Many were the quips exchanged between Mr. Pickwick and the bystanders: "What is 'petrol', my friend?" he was heard to ask. At mid-day they reached Cobtree Manor, the generally accepted original

Mr. Pickwick drives again
(By courtesy of *Chatham News*)

of Dingley Dell. Here they were entertained in true Pickwickian style by Sir Garrard and Lady Tyrwhitt-Drake before setting out on the return journey to the Bull, where they were the guests, at lunch, of the *News Chronicle*. This pleasant interlude concluded, not of course before the hosts were toasted by Mr. Pickwick, the party mounted the coach once more and, watched by bigger crowds than ever, they crossed the Medway and made their way to the cricket field at Cobham. After their uproarious reception, already recorded, the party were introduced to the High Sheriff and then joined the multitude of spectators in cheering on the players. Later they took tea with a large party of members of the Rochester Branch of the Fellowship. Let us repeat—a triumph for Mr. Baines: "Well played, sir!"

* * * * *

Broadstairs Festival Plans are well in hand for the annual Dickens Festival at Broadstairs timed to take place from 18th to 21st October (*see p.* 224). An Autumn holiday at Dickens's favourite coast resort while this enjoyable Festival is in progress may be highly recommended to Dickens lovers. LESLIE C. STAPLES.

THE COMPOSITION OF *DAVID COPPERFIELD*

By John Butt

Continued from page 135

Part XI. March, 1850
Chapters XXXII-XXXIV. Completed February 21st, 1850.

"Mr. Peggotty to begin his search." That is the first point to be made on the Number Plan, and it is indeed the obvious opening to choose for the Number following upon Em'ly's loss. But where shall Mr. Peggotty begin? Dickens's second note reads: "Mrs. Steerforth qy/YES. AND ROSA DARTLE." That doubt was settled, and the settlement clinched by the afterthought that Rosa Dartle could be used too. There was also the unredeemed promise to alter Miss Mowcher's character, and the third note ("*Miss Moucher√ Yes*") shows that this was the most favourable opportunity. Here, then, are the basic materials of the first chapter; but they barely indicate what the tone and structure of the chapter was to be. A letter written to Cerjat on December 29th, 1849, and a fragment of a letter to Miss Coutts, written (February 4th, 1850) while this Number was being planned, show the drift of Dickens's thoughts at this time. To Cerjat he writes:

> I had previously observed much of what you say about the poor girls. In all you suggest with so much feeling about their return to virtue being cruelly cut off, I concur with a sore heart. I have been turning it over in my mind for some time, and hope, in the history of Little Em'ly (who *must* fall—there is no hope for her), to put it before the thoughts of people in a new and pathetic way, and perhaps to do some good;

and to Miss Coutts:

> You will observe that I am endeavouring to turn their thoughts a little that way in *Copperfield*.

It is clearly the moral and social problem of prostitution that occupies him. Dickens was less interested in showing, as George Eliot was to show nine years later in *Adam Bede*, how one heedless act of vicious folly could bring disaster upon the community, as in showing how the community regarded the act. Em'ly had become an outcast. There was no question about that. But Dickens, with his mind on the girls of Miss Coutts's Home, was anxious to soften the Victorian reader's heart towards such an outcast. We have already seen how Mr. Peggotty's heart has withstood the test, and we are told once more that the emblematic candle "must be stood in its old pane of glass, that if ever she should see it, it may seem to say 'Come back, my child, come back!'" But what of the other characters? Minnie Joram thought Em'ly "a deceitful, bad-hearted girl. There was no good in her, ever!" Yet when David remonstrated with her, she "tossed her head, endeavouring to be very stern and cross; but she could not command her softer self, and began to cry." "I was young, to be sure" is David's comment, "but I thought much the better of her for this sympathy, and fancied it became her, as a virtuous wife and mother, very well indeed." As to Mr. Omer, he "had taken it so much to heart . . . that he had been very low and poorly all day, and had gone to bed without his pipe." Condemnation is softened by sympathy, and that is precisely what Dickens wished his readers to feel towards Miss Coutts's girls.

This is the context in which Dickens decided to make amends to Miss Mowcher's prototype. The amends is morally ample, and we

may even observe a note of self-reproach for her former treatment when Miss Mowcher is made to remark " If I am a plaything for you giants, be gentle with me " ; but the alteration is regrettable, all the same, for reasons given earlier.

It was logical that Mr. Peggotty should first call upon Mrs. Steerforth. Artistically, her stern selfishness and uncompromising condemnation of Em'ly and the ruthless jealousy of Rosa Dartle provide a sharp contrast with the almost too sentimental tone of the first half of this chapter. But Mr. Peggotty is not downcast by his reception, and the words he is given show us that Dickens shared that unusual power which Jeffrey had detected in Scott, namely, the power of displaying the noble qualities of humble characters.

We must pause to notice two anticipations of future scenes. When David asks Ham on what his thoughts were bent, he replies : " On what's afore me, Mas'r Davy ; and over yon." " On the life before you, do you mean ? " David asks. " He had pointed confusedly out to sea. ' Ay, Mas'r Davy. I doen't rightly know how 'tis, but from over yon there seemed to come—the end of it like.' " Evidently the main incidents of the storm in Chapter LV were already clear in Dickens's mind.

The second is an anticipation of the melodramatic scene in Part XVI (Chapter L) when Rosa Dartle pours her reproaches upon Em'ly's head. This scene had also been planned long in advance, for when Rosa and David part in Chapter XXXII, Rosa declares that if ever she could reproach Em'ly with her infamous condition, she would go anywhere to do so.

Dickens's notes for the remainder of the Number read as follows : " The Doctor and his wife—qy *No* / Agnes ? qy *Only an allusion*/Aunt & Mr. Dick. *Yes* / Is engaged to Dora. YES (*Miss Mills*) / Tommy Traddles—qy/." The Strong theme is deferred for another month. The other themes occur in what at first sight is a surprising order. The engagement to Dora, so enthusiastically chosen, occupies the second chapter, yet we notice that Agnes was uppermost in his thoughts. Dickens cannot overlook the " real heroine," and his readers must keep her in mind, too. But the " allusion " to her in the final chapter is ambiguous. David had written to her announcing his engagement, and remembered

> that I sat resting my head upon my hand, when the letter was half done, cherishing a general fancy as if Agnes were one of the elements of my natural home. As if, in the retirement of the house made almost sacred to me by her presence, Dora and I must be happier than anywhere. As if, in love, joy, sorrow, hope, or disappointment ; in all emotions ; my heart turned naturally there, and found its refuge and best friend.

What part was Agnes originally destined for when Dickens wrote these words ? They seem to look forward to David's later discovery that his love for Dora was " the first mistaken impulse of an undisciplined heart " ; yet they are not incompatible with Agnes's rôle as Dora's instructress, as the Georgina Hogarth of David's household.

Part XII. April, 1850
Chapters XXXV-XXXVII.

The structure of this Number resembles a shield of arms supported by the contrasting figures of Agnes and Dora. After confirming the use of certain characters (" Agnes. Yes / Dr. & Mrs. Strong ? Yes / Jack Maldon ? Yes. / Mr. Micawber engaged by Uriah."), Dickens sets out his theme in the memoranda on the left-hand side of the Number Plan :

> Progress of David to a working state, still tinged, romantically, by his

youth and character, and overdone. No similar progress on the part of Dora. Poor little Dora not bred for a working life.

Aunt Betsey's ruin in the last chapter of the previous Number provides the motive power for David to become self-supporting. His resolve, it is true, leads to little more than a part-time secretaryship to Dr. Strong; but what is tonic to David proves dispiriting to Dora, as the conclusion of the Number amply shows. The contrast is completed by the part Agnes is made to play. "Carry the thread of Agnes through it all" is the direction Dickens gives himself, and accordingly we find that it is Agnes who makes in the first chapter the only practical suggestion of the secretaryship and who, in a general way, "was like Hope embodied, to me": "she filled my heart with such good resolutions, strengthened my weakness so, by her example, so directed . . . the wandering ardor and unsettled purpose within me, that all the little good I have done, and all the harm I have forborne, I solemnly believe I may refer to her."

The contrast between Agnes's practical support in the first chapter and Dora's impractical weakness in the last—"Oh, she was so frightened! Oh, where was Julia Mills! Oh, take her to Julia Mills, and go away, please! . . . I thought I had killed her, this time"—is strong enough. But Dickens was not content to leave it so. Agnes and Dora must be placed in even closer apposition.

> "Agnes!" I joyfully exclaimed. "Oh, my dear Agnes, of all people in the world, what a pleasure to see you!"
>
> "Is it, indeed?" she said, in her cordial voice.
>
> "I want to talk to you so much!" said I. "It's such a lightening of my heart, only to look at you! If I had had a conjuror's cap, there is no one I should have wished for but you!"
>
> "What?" returned Agnes.
>
> "Well! perhaps Dora, first," I admitted, with a blush.
>
> "Certainly, Dora first, I hope," said Agnes, laughing.
>
> "But you next!" said I.

The reader does not need exceptionally clear eyes to see that Agnes is "the real heroine". And Betsey Trotwood sees it too. She tenderly questions David about his love, makes him reflect whether Dora is not silly or light-headed; and when David protests that he could never love anybody else or cease to love her, Betsey Trotwood can only shake her head and smile gravely, murmuring, "Ah, Trot! Blind, blind, blind!" At this point Dickens was forced to cut out in proof a sentence which glosses this remark. "Whether her tone of pity was for me," he had written "or for herself, or for anybody else, I could not decide—did not ask myself, perhaps; but I know that it made me feel uneasy afterwards, and that it sounded in my fancy like a sorrowful strain of music I had sometimes heard at a distance, before that night."

Dickens relies heavily for his pointing on these musical *motifs*. Betsey Trotwood's observation, which may be read as a comment both upon David's infatuation and upon his inability to recognise where his heart lay, is echoed at the end of the chapter:

> And how she spoke to me of Dora, and . . . made [her] yet more precious and innocent to me! Oh, Agnes, sister of my boyhood, if I had known then, what I knew long afterwards!—
>
> There was a beggar in the street, when I went down; and as I turned my head towards the window, thinking of her calm, seraphic eyes, he made me start by muttering, as if he were an echo of the morning:
>
> "Blind! Blind! Blind!"*

This is the most prominent theme, and it should be noted that the minor detail stands in close relationship to it. If we are to believe

* The point is made telegraphically in the Number Plan. On the left-hand side we read: "My aunt ' And not silly?' / *Express that*, VERY DELICATELY"; and on the right: "*Agnes* — Blind, blind, blind."

that Annie Strong thus early in the novel represents one who has withstood the first mistaken impulses of an undisciplined heart, then we need look no further for the reason of her introduction here than that her self-knowledge (supported, we notice, by a visit to Agnes) contrasts with David's blindness.*

The introduction of Uriah Heep and Mr. Micawber is not inappropriate in a Number dealing with Betsey Trotwood's ruin, even though no direct association is made. Uriah Heep is reported to be increasing his hold upon Mr. Wickfield's affairs; and in preparation for Uriah's eventual exposure, Mr. Micawber is shown on the eve of departure for Canterbury to take up his post as Uriah's confidential clerk.

Part XIII. May, 1850
Chapters XXXVIII-XL.

In planning his monthly parts, Dickens frequently designed his first two chapters of equal length and importance, leaving the final chapter as a short appendix to them. Thus in Part XI, Chapters XXXII and XXXIII cover 12 and 11½ pages of manuscript respectively, Chapter XXXIV only six; in Part XII, Chapters XXXV and XXXVI cover 13 and 10 pages and Chapter XXXVII five; so, too, in the present Number, Chapters XXXVIII and XXXIX are of comparable importance, with 10 and 12 pages respectively, while Chapter XL covers little more than five. The contents also maintain this balance, which is, of course, the balance of Dora and Agnes. Ostensibly the chapters deal with two partnerships, the dissolution of the firm of Spenlow and Jorkins by Mr. Spenlow's death, and the effectual subordination of Mr. Wickfield to Uriah in the partnership of Wickfield and Heep. But the state of these partnerships is, in fact, used to show the effect upon Dora (and therefore upon David) of the dissolution of Spenlow and Jorkins, and the effect upon Agnes (and therefore upon David) of the subordination of Wickfield to Heep.

The memoranda on the Number Plan indicate that this pattern, obvious as it appears to us now, did not immediately occur to Dickens when he set to work upon this monthly Part. His first impulse was to resume the Strong theme, but this he set aside ("The Doctor, Annie, and Mr. Jack Maldon? NO"). He then passed the Wickfields under review ("Agnes and her father? YES"), and having accepted this theme, he decided upon the nature of the episode and some of its ingredients ("Mrs. Heep? YES. TOUCHED / *To carry on the thread of Uriah, carefully, and not obtrusively, also of David and Agnes*"). We know that Mr. Micawber was also to be used, but so far as planning was concerned, he could evidently be left to look after himself.

So much for the plan of Chapter XXXIX. The plan of Chapter XXXVIII is even briefer, consisting merely of "Mr. Spenlow. *Dead.*" We must assume, therefore, that the careful and ingenious balance of Dora and Agnes in these two chapters was something which occurred to Dickens after he had begun his planning and which grew upon him in the act of writing. It was in the act of writing, we may assume, that Dickens determined the detail of his diptych, of Agnes on one side in whom David felt "rest and peace", though he "had perversely wandered away from the voice" of his own heart, of Dora on the other incapable of mastering her grief and of giving any support or encouragement to her lover.

The theme of the last chapter is, in the words of the Number Plan, "Mr. Peggotty's story of his search". What we should principally note is that in introducing the figure of Martha Endell once more,

* The question in the Number Plan about Jack Maldon seems to imply a last moment decision to bring him back from India.

Dickens is providing himself with the means of discovering Em'ly in a future Number.

PART XIV. JUNE, 1850
Chapters XLI-XLIII. Begun May 7th, 1850.

"I wrote my paper for *H.W.* yesterday," Dickens told Forster on May 7th, 1850, "and have begun *Copperfield* this morning. Still undecided about Dora, but MUST decide to-day." The decision he had to make was whether or not Dora should die, for upon this decision hung the future development of the novel and, in particular, the fate of Agnes and the emphasis to be given to the interpretation of the story of Dr. and Mrs. Strong and Jack Maldon. Having decided that Dora must die, the details of Part XIV could be settled.* The memoranda are brief:

DAVID'S MARRIAGE TO DORA / BACK TO THE STRONG INCIDENTS, AND CLEAR the way / MR. DICK / clear Julia Mills off† / BRING AGNES AND DORA TOGETHER.

The most prominent incident of this Number is therefore to be David's marriage to Dora, which must necessarily become the theme of the final chapter. But there was much to be done before the ceremony. There were Dora's aunts to be reconciled to the match and there was the contrast with Agnes to be maintained. The contrast is carried through by the singularly bold decision to bring Agnes and Dora together. Not only is the reader intended to see Dora to her disadvantage, but Dora herself is made to recognise it, the recognition being the means of preparing for Dora's later recommendation of a second marriage.

Meanwhile, "the Strong incidents" have been significantly developed. Dr. Strong is made by Uriah Heep to see what the relations of Annie Strong and Jack Maldon look like to other people. A veil has been drawn between husband and wife which Mr. Dick will remove. Dickens has, in fact, cleared the way for the interpretation of these "Strong incidents" in the next Number, an interpretation which can hardly be deferred much longer in the interests of David's recognition of his undisciplined heart.

Lastly, Mr. Micawber's reserve, which had been evident in the last Number, has now become so pronounced as to provoke Mrs. Micawber to write to David about it. Dickens is obviously preparing for an early exposure of Uriah Heep.

* The words of Dickens's letter to Forster suggest that the Number was commenced before the great decision was taken. David's marriage to Dora was not affected by the decision, and in consequence some of the planning and writing could begin before Chapter XLI was completed.

† Because Agnes must take her position as Dora's confidante.

(To be concluded).

THE BOOKS OF THE YEAR

SEASON, 1950-51

SKETCHES BY BOZ

THE MYSTERY OF EDWIN DROOD

THE FORTY-FOURTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE DICKENS FELLOWSHIP

AT ST. ANNES ON SEA

FOR the first time since the war, Conference was held in the North of England, at St. Annes-on-Sea on the Lancashire coast, by invitation of the Lytham St. Annes Branch, which was founded by Mrs. E. Graystock only three years ago. Lancashire enjoys a reputation for warm-hearted hospitality which Mrs. Graystock did much to consolidate on this occasion. Not even the occasionally inclement weather could damp the cordial atmosphere which prevailed from start to finish and the four-day sojourn in the bright little coast town will remain a happy memory with the two hundred and more members who made the journey. Tribute must be paid to the management of the Hotel Majestic, the comfortable headquarters of the Conference.

An admirable beginning was made by a Reception held at the Lowther Pavilion, Lytham, by the Mayor, Councillor Banks, and Mrs. Banks, on Friday evening, May 19th. Dancing, which continued until a late hour, was varied by the performance of an amusing farce, *It's Autumn Now*, by the Blackpool Amateur Repertory Players, satirising the life of touring actors in the days of Dickens.

THE BUSINESS MEETING

The Lowther Pavilion was again the venue on the Saturday morning when, at an early hour, the visitors gathered there for the Annual Business Meeting, by the courtesy of the Mayor and Corporation who, in addition, generously provided transport from St. Annes for the entire company, as they had also done on the previous evening. The Mayor was himself present once more to welcome the delegates and formally to open the proceedings. Then followed the Chairman's Address by Mr. R. C. D. Shuckburgh, M.C., the Chairman of the Council.

After paying tribute to the Mayor and Corporation for the cordiality and warmth which they had offered to the Fellowship, Mr. Shuckburgh went on to comment upon the ever-growing enthusiasm with which his great-grandfather's works were received as evinced, among much other evidence, by the ever-increasing success of our Annual Conferences. This enthusiasm was not entirely founded upon the reasons for Dickens's popularity in his own day, for every generation found sufficient to place him in the very forefront of England's greatest sons. Many of the great figures of Victorian times have toppled from their thrones, but Dickens remains firm on his, for :

No man, save Shakespeare, has had the power of making us see his characters as Dickens did. With an economy of words, Dickens creates a world and a people of his own. Mr. F's aunt we all know well, the analytical chemist, the Pecksniffs, the Podsnaps, the Gamps, and the Scrooges are never forgotten. The number of times they crop up in our lives is quite amazing.

But I think our interest in Dickens is, above all, due to his ideas, those ideas which permeated his novels and seemed to be his driving force. Two wars have made us a very serious people and Dickens's humanitarian appeal has become more and more attractive to us.

Dickens was not a political novelist. Unlike Disraeli, he was attracted to no particular political theory. *Hard Times* is not as good a novel as *Sybil* because Dickens was trying out something he couldn't do, while Disraeli knew exactly what he was after. Dickens only drew attention to abuses, but he was committed to no theory for relieving them. Unlike Cobbett, who believed that if only a Reform Bill were passed there would be Utopia, Dickens never looked further than the evil and said it must go. Like Lord Snigsworth, of Snigsworthy Park, he said, " Away with it ! " and he meant every word he said !

Yet if Dickens was uncommitted to methods of relief how much stronger a position he took. By a stroke of a pen, he awoke men's consciences so that they could no longer sleep. Who, after *Oliver Twist*, could put up with the Poor Law ? Who, after Squeers, could permit the Yorkshire Schools ? Who, after Jarndyce *v.* Jarndyce, could bear an unreformed Chancery ? All the Chartist Demonstrations, all the political rigmarole of elections, reform and parliamentary divisions could not do as much as Dickens did. If he did not give an answer, he demanded that an answer should be given and no one dared refuse or could refuse such a request !

If, however, the questions which he posed had been confined to the age he lived in, he might have lost interest for us. But they did not. The story of Oliver Twist is alive because it makes us remember all orphans, all waifs and strays, all the homeless and unloved. Squeers demanded the beating which he received not only because he starved his children in 1838 but because—if we don't look out—he will starve them again to-day. "The Law's delay" is always to be watched and the Circumlocution Office, like the poor, is ever with us.

These are evils which ever affect us and against these evils we must ever fight. We can easily deal with the Jonas Chuzzlewits because they display their wickedness and can be caught. The Bill Sikeses are the province of the police. But what we have to guard against and what we have to seek out and destroy are the Murdstones, who secretly beat little children till they break their hearts, and the Scrooges whose meanness inflicts suffering on all around them, and especially on those who are too weak to protect themselves. These represent the hidden evils against which we must always be alert. These represent the evils against which Dickens crusaded with immense vigour and immense strength, a part and parcel of his truly humanitarian approach to life, a part and parcel, let us say, of his deep and abiding love of mankind !

When you, Mr. Mayor, and your Corporation, welcome us in the kind way you have done, you join with us and with Dickens in Dickens's crusade. You join with us also in honouring the great man who showed us the way and gave us the courage to follow it. You honour him for his strength and for his tenderness, for his work for progress and his defence of established good, for his iconoclasticism and his defence of the moral law. In short, you stand with us in the great fellowship of mankind which he loved and for which he lived and strove so hard. That, Mr. Mayor, is an honourable rôle and it is the rôle to which all of us here have dedicated our lives.

The Roll-call was attended with the welcoming plaudits of the company as the members of each Branch rose in their seats. Special greetings were reserved for Miss Cowan of Auckland, Mr. Cordery of Christchurch, and Miss Tweedie and Mrs. Lee of Sydney.

REPORT OF THE HON. SECRETARY

On the occasion of last year's Conference I was able to report a total of 67 Branches, after allowing for the loss of two and the addition of one. I have this year to report the winding up of yet two more Branches : Bromley and Southampton. The reason in the case of Bromley is, I think, its proximity to London, which is a difficulty all Branches near London have to face, so many members belonging also to Headquarters. Membership of more than one Branch has its drawbacks, when fixtures clash, as they often do. We do regret the loss of a Branch, however, if only for the disappointment to the officers, whose work at such times appears to have been in vain. Fortunately, keen members of this Branch are to continue their association with the Fellowship through London, which is within easy reach.

Southampton was, I am afraid, yet another war casualty. It is a pity that our representation there should cease, in a town which is one of the great gateways into this country from overseas, and which one would like to think could do so much to give the visitor on arrival a real Dickensian welcome. It was not to be, however, and in spite of kind and practical offers of help from the thriving Branch at Portsmouth, its near neighbour, Southampton has returned its Charter.

I would like to record our appreciation to the officers of Portsmouth for their kindly offer of assistance, but unfortunately those remaining of the Southampton Branch could not obtain the necessary support and were not strong enough to attract new members around them. That brings me to the

point of emphasising the necessity for keen, enthusiastic officers if we are to have good healthy Branches. Only a keen officer, ready to work really hard and unselfishly can attract lively members, and to all such officers, whose valuable work during the past year has been reflected in successful Branches, holding their meetings in an atmosphere of happiness and sociability, I would like to accord our sincere gratitude and to wish them continued success in the future.

Several tentative enquiries have been raised, leading one to infer that there may be possibilities of new Branches being formed in other parts of the country. We prefer, however, not to count our chickens before the eggs are even laid, and our number of Branches for this Conference Report, therefore, is 65. So long as they remain strong and healthy, we can still pride ourselves on being a Society of considerable dimension.

Discussions have taken place regarding a Dickens Festival, which is to be held in Rochester for a week commencing June 23rd, 1951, and for which the support and collaboration of the Fellowship has been sought, and we must not forget such well-established annual events as the Broadstairs Dickens Festival, which in October this year will be the fifth held since the war—a highly successful event run by the Town Council, but bearing the Dickens hallmark in the able support given to it by our Branch of the Fellowship, and the dramatic adaptations of the novels by Miss Gladys Waterer, a distinguished member. The Festival in 1949 was notable for Miss Waterer's really outstanding production of *David Copperfield*: one excellent way of celebrating the Centenary of that great novel. This Centenary has been commemorated during the year in many ways, and is still being observed in a fitting manner as will be seen by glancing at Branch programmes.

This year has seen the revival of the meetings at the George and Vulture of the City Pickwick Club, which has remained in a state of quiescence since the beginning of the war. This famous club, whose strictly limited membership is confined mostly to members of the City Corporation and business men in the City, with its long waiting list, has indicated a desire to have representatives of the Fellowship as its members.

Mr. Staples and I have accordingly been accepted as members and following the tradition of the Club, bear the respective Pickwickian pseudonyms of Brother Tadger and Jonas Mudge, both active members of the Brick Lane Branch of the United Grand Junction Ebenezer Temperance Association.

This year also has been remarkable for the number of houses connected with Dickens that have been up for sale, two of which he used as summer residences, Elm Lodge, Petersham and Fort House, Broadstairs, and the other, Bowes Academy, which he immortalised as Dotheboys Hall, the seat of learning and the headquarters of the rascally activities of Mr. Squeers. The much inflated price put upon the first two houses resulted in their failing to realise the reserve figure, and their fate is still apparently in the balance.

As usual, the press turned to the Fellowship to know what we intended doing about it. The answer was to the effect, and I think you will agree with it, that financially we could and would do just what the general public had done about 48 Doughty Street– nothing ! We *did* call the attention of the appropriate authorities in each case to the desirability of preserving the houses for the Nation, but as far as the Fellowship goes it is clear that we must concentrate on 48 Doughty Street, and bring that effort to completion before turning to anything else. With the Birthplace in Portsmouth, already looked after, at one end of the scale, Doughty Street, our present care, in the middle, and Gadshill, so carefully tended by its present occupier, Miss Burt, at the other end, surely the essential houses in the life of Dickens are being preserved.

With regard to Gadshill, visitors from all over the world are given such a kindly reception that we did welcome the opportunity this year, when writing to Miss Burt, to congratulate her upon the Silver Jubilee of her school, to express the gratitude of the Fellowship, both for the preservation of the House and for so unselfishly sharing this great treasure with all those interested in it.

The Fellowship production of " The Lighthouse " in London last month caused quite a stir and received very useful publicity in many newspapers and periodicals, even to the extent of a third of a column in *The Times*. This old melodrama, written for Dickens by his friend, Wilkie Collins, was performed first nearly a hundred years ago for charitable purposes by amateurs, under the leadership of Dickens himself. Now, it has again fallen

to the lot of amateurs—members of the Dickens Fellowship—to produce this play, which has never been published, and this time our Endowment Fund has derived benefit from the performance. The interest shown in the play has brought the Fellowship to the notice of many people who otherwise would not have known us or might not have thought very seriously of our existence.

At our Birthday Dinner in London this year, the fact that Sir Thomas Beecham was our guest of honour, resulted in many newspapers taking an unusual interest in that function. Having come to report and photograph our distinguished guest, they stayed to enquire into the activities of the Fellowship—what our little flower badge meant, why it was worn, what we did, and similar enquiries.

In these ways, not only in London, but all over the country, where Branch Meetings and functions are reported, in correspondence and articles contributed by our members, it is being proved to the public that a so-called Dickolater—a name given to us by a recent biographer of Dickens—is in fact quite a rational and jolly being. We are, I am glad to say, slowly and surely building up a general interest in the Fellowship, so that by our Jubilee Year in 1952. I hope we shall have become an item of news ourselves.

I hope, too, that all Branches will benefit by this renewed interest in Dickens, and will try to take full advantage of being on the crest of the wave, striving to strengthen their membership, and help to substantiate a claim we hope to make in our Jubilee Year of being the oldest, largest, and greatest Literary Society in the world. But in making that claim, I hope too that we shall always be able to make the even more important one of being known the world over for the friendly, sociable and happy atmosphere of our meetings. May all our disputes, if any, be in a truly Pickwickian sense—and if we can keep our sense of humour, there is hope for our future—and perhaps for the world, if we can all encourage our own small part of it to do likewise.

In conclusion, I should like to record my pleasure at working with my fellow Officers, and to thank you for the loyal support you have given to us. To the appeal of our Hon. Treasurer, keeping his keen and practised eye upon our funds you have responded generously. May I make one request in regard to our Hon. Editor, the result of whose excellent work is ours to enjoy between the familiar green covers of *The Dickensian*. I would ask members in all Branches to give their wholehearted support by increasing the circulation of our own magazine, thereby making a reduction in price a possibility, and in that way alone increasing its value to their fellow members all over the world, and by helping each other give the word Fellowship a genuine meaning.

May I again also express my great appreciation of the services rendered by our Assistant Secretary, Miss Minards. Her extensive knowledge of the Fellowship, her anxiety for its welfare, keeping the officers on their toes and never allowing them to slack in the good cause, are attributes it would be hard to replace. It is a great pleasure to work with her.

I think the future is bright for us, and if it is your wish that the retiring officers are re-elected when you arrive at that item on the Agenda, I feel sure that I, as the *Third Man*, can answer for the other two—we shall be both happy and honoured to continue to serve the Fellowship to the best of our ability.

Mr. E. J. Mitchell then read the

REPORT OF THE HON. TREASURER

The Accounts for the year ended December 31st, 1949, have not yet been audited, although the Auditors are at present engaged in the examination of the books. I can, however, report to you on sufficiently accurate draft Accounts.

I am sorry to say that a loss is again shewn on our publication, *The Dickensian*, but there is some gratification in observing that it was less than that for last year. For the year ended December 31st, 1949, the loss was £26 12*s*. 5*d*. as against £50 8*s*. 9*d*. for 1948.

With regard to the Fellowship Accounts there was an excess of Income over Expenditure of £77 1*s*. 9*d*. as against £146 5*s*. 2*d*. for 1948.

Merging these two Accounts, the carry forward figure becomes £882. The net result is that we shew an increase in the balance forward of £51. The increase is not quite so large as in the two previous years, due mainly to the fact that we have had to fall into line with everyone else and face up to an increase in running costs.

The accounts of the Dickens House have been reasonably satisfactory, in that the Receipts have maintained the standard of previous years; but here again heavy expenses have had an adverse effect, and the excess of Income over Expenditure has been reached only by a credit of £250, being a donation by the Pilgrim Trust towards the cost of repairs and decorations.

The particular item in the Balance Sheet which will be of interest to you to-day is that we have now £5,000 actually invested on account of the Walter Dexter Memorial Fund.

The number of visitors to the House during the year 1949 was 2,920, being an increase of 208 and 719 over the years 1948 and 1947 respectively.

Then came the election of the President for 1950-52, Mr. L. A. G. Strong. This, after a cordially worded proposal by Mr. F. R. Dean of Manchester, was carried with acclamation. Mr. Dean also proposed that a warm message of thanks be sent to the retiring President, Maj.-Gen. Ian Hay Beith.

Five new Vice-Presidents were also enthusiastically elected: Mrs. Angela Thirkell, Mr. Collin Brooks, Mr. R. J. Cruikshank, Major Philip Charles Dickens, and Mr. T. W. Hill. In voicing the proposal that these distinguished names be added to the list of Vice-Presidents, Mrs. Fox-Davies of Birmingham paid special tribute to our own Mr. Hill, whose long, valuable and unselfish services had been at the disposal of the Fellowship almost since its inception, and to the pleasure with which everyone saw him amongst the company that morning.

The three existing Officers, having agreed to allow their names to go forward for re-election, were reappointed after a humorous but sincere tribute to their labours by Mr. Leo Mason, of Blackburn, had been received with great delight by the company.

It was with great regret that Conference heard from the Hon. Treasurer that the Hon. Auditors, who had generously given their services to the Fellowship for a great many years, had intimated that they were now unable to continue. It was resolved that a letter of deep appreciation for all they had done for so long, be sent to them. Mr. Mitchell further reported that no sooner was this fact learned by Mr. H. E. Evans, of Manchester, the senior partner of Messrs. Morris, Gregory and Company, Chartered Accountants, than he offered the name of this firm for election. Mr. Evans was cordially thanked for his most generous offer and the firm was elected.

In the matter of Conference, 1951, Miss Dallimore, Hon. Secretary of the Cheltenham Branch, voiced the cordial invitation of her Branch that it should be held in that town on June 15th to 18th, with the practical assistance of other Gloucestershire Branches. This was carried unanimously and Miss Dallimore asked to convey the thanks for the Fellowship to her colleagues.

In October, 1952, will fall the Jubilee of the Dickens Fellowship and it was announced that Council proposed that this event be celebrated in London with due dignity and that the Conference for that year be held simultaneously, which policy was duly endorsed by the meeting. Mr. Staples said that plans for the Jubilee were already under discussion and that it was hoped that the plan outlined by the Hon. Treasurer at last year's Conference, of completing the Dickens House Endowment Fund (Walter Dexter Memorial), would come to fruition. After a report on the progress of the affairs of the Dickens House had been given, cheques were received by Mr. Mitchell for the Fund to the extent of over £200, details of which will be found on another page.

Hard Times and *The Uncommercial Traveller* were voted to be the books for study during the season of 1951-52. Those for the coming season, *Sketches by Boz* and *Edwin Drood*, having been decided upon at last year's Conference.

A report of the activities of the N.W. Regional Group of Branches was given by Miss Irene Howes (Liverpool), its President, who urged

other groups to recommence corporate activities such as the Lancashire Branches found so beneficial.

After a series of votes of thanks to the Lytham St. Annes Branch, to the Mayor and Corporation and to the Chairman, had been proposed and carried, the meeting closed.

The afternoon was occupied by a motor-coach drive round the Fylde, the beautiful countryside of which gave great pleasure to the visitors.

THE CONFERENCE BANQUET

In the evening was held the Conference Banquet at the Hotel Majestic, with Alderman E. Wren Hilton, J.P., President of the Lytham St. Annes Branch, in the Chair. The company numbered about two hundred and fifty and among the distinguished visitors at the top table were two Vice-Presidents of the Fellowship, Mrs. Elaine Waley, grand-daughter of Charles Dickens, and Mr. T. W. Hill.

The toast to "The Immortal Memory of Charles Dickens" was proposed by Mr. L. du Garde Peach, the well-known dramatist and author, in a humorous and entertaining speech. Dickens was so fascinated by the stage that it is interesting, said Mr. Peach, to wonder why he did not choose the profession of a dramatist, when he took to writing. He might have done so had the theatre of his day offered greater prizes. His only rival in English literature, Shakespeare, was content with "the two hours traffic of the stage," but Dickens would have lacked elbow room there and what, had he written for the playhouse, would have happened to the great gallery of immortal characters? In range and richness, power and variety of portraiture Dickens was equalled only by Shakespeare.

The Dickens Fellowship was the subject of a toast proposed by Mr. C. E. Young, Headmaster of Rossall School. Dickens, said Mr. Young, was not the first to try to change England: Swift brought hatred to the task, Chaucer lacked indignation, Galsworthy could kindle pity but lacked humour, but Dickens succeeded with love and with laughter. Bumble and Mrs. Gamp shook England with laughter. Russia could do with a Dickens to-day. It has been said that his characters are too static, but no criticism could be less enlightening. Pickwick left the Fleet a wiser man. The Dickens Fellowship has flourished because of the admiration for Dickens the humanist, the effective humanist, for his good people were not ineffectively good. To-day the world is sadly in need of fellowship to counteract the super-abundance of hatred and derision and to spread peace and good will.

Mr. R. C. D. Shuckburgh replied to the toast in his second brilliant speech of the day. He was, he said, an inveterate monument hunter, and told of a number he had visited, but:

> The Fellowship is not such a monument. There is no dust here. This living monument was built to work, to work hard for the things for which Charles Dickens strove, that bond of humanity, that fellowship of all men of good will!
>
> You must forgive me for starting on this serious note. In these days when so much that Dickens stood for is at stake, when family life, morality, and honour are things which make "Progressives" laugh and when Dickens is often only accepted because he attacked things and organisations which the materialist also would attack, not for Dickens's reason—their inhumanity—but because they do not come up to modern standards of efficiency in these days, I say it is difficult not to be serious. It seems almost unavoidable.
>
> But to-night, no! This is a celebration and a celebration of a truly Dickensian occasion. No man knew more about celebrations than Charles Dickens did. He would have seen eye to eye with the old Priest at the Brompton Oratory whom I remember well as a boy, who used to tell me in a loud voice in church on Christmas Eve, to the distress of several very pious people around, that he had one lesson to teach me for Christmas and that was "Always have a second helping!"

Dickens was a great believer in " wittles ". His ghost of Christmas Present you will remember, was found in these circumstances.

" Heaped up on the floor, to form a kind of throne, were turkeys, geese, game, poultry, brawn, great joints of meat, sucking pigs, long wreaths of sausages, mince pies, plum puddings, barrels of oysters, red hot chest-nuts, cherry-cheeked apples, juicy oranges, luscious pears, immense twelfth-cakes and seething bowls of punch that made the chamber dim with their delicious steam."

When the Ghost exclaims, " You have never seen the like of me before ! " Scrooge answers, " Never," unconsciously speaking for a later generation that knows little of a diet—to use official jargon—of such " nutritious intake " !

Dickens, I feel sure, would have made mincemeat of those people who delight in telling us that snoek has as many calories and is therefore just as good as salmon. And what he would have said to those heretics who really believe that British wine, Unfermented Port Type, is as good as a bottle of Dow's '27, I dare not even imagine. The reformed Scrooge might well have muttered " Humbug ! " and have had our unanimous support !

As for the party itself, this must be unrestrained ! Dickens could not bear a host like Podsnap, whose only concession to an " unfortunately born foreigner " (invited " after much debate with himself ") was to present his wife as " Madame Podsnap," also his daughter as " Mademoiselle Podsnap " with some inclination to add " *ma fille*," in which bold venture he, however, checked himself. Nor could he put up with Lady Tippins, whose nasty, spiteful humour at a dinner party drew a rebuke from that gentleman of all gentlemen, that mildest of mild men, even of Twemlow ! Mrs. Gamp gets rapped over the knuckles for putting gin in a tea-pot, not only because it was preposterous that anyone should drink thus secretly, but also because she was so obviously ashamed of drinking at all !

But when the heart is there, all other idiosyncracies are forgiven. Dickens makes great play of Mrs. Leo Hunter's party, but it is a good party and for that she is forgiven much ! As for Fezziwig and Mrs. Fezziwig standing out to dance " top couple too ; with a good stiff piece of work cut out for them ; three or four and twenty pair of partners ; people who were *not* to be trifled with ; people who would dance and had no notion of walking," and Mr. Pickwick leading out the old lady, such scenes were the epitome of Dickens's teachings.

When Scrooge at last breaks in on his nephew with " It's I, your uncle Scrooge. I have come to dinner. Will you let me in ? " and nearly has his arm shaken off, here indeed is Dickens in all his glory ! Naturally it was a " Wonderful party, wonderful games, wonderful unanimity, won-der-ful happiness ! " This was the kind of party to go to and to give, the very essence of Dickensian celebrations from that day to this.

Let us not forget this side of Dickens in the stress of modern life, when most of the time we have to fight to preserve the many other great principles for which Dickens worked and strove. Above all, on such an occasion as this, when we are all set to be carefree, when our celebrations remind us of other celebrations at Dingley Dell, for instance, or on the smaller scale, at Greenwich with Rumty Wilfer and " the lovely woman," let us keep this side of Charles Dickens clearly before us.

This surely is a time for celebration, this great annual event when for once all difficulties are overcome and the Fellowship comes together. Now our many branches merge and now together we can celebrate in a fine Dickensian manner the many triumphs we have achieved in nearly fifty years of happy existence.

This is without doubt a great and wonderful monument to a great and wonderful man, a monument built not with stocks and stones, not with bricks and mortar, but with an enthusiasm for the ideals he left with us, an enthusiasm which ever lifts our hearts and lightens the burden of our task.

Let to-night, then, be a truly Dickensian celebration and let us not end it till we have shouted with Mr. Pickwick and his companions and in the same fine fettle—to shew how determined we are—those immortal words :

" We won't go home till morning,
We won't go home till morning,
We won't go home till morning,
Till daylight doth appear."

The Mayor and Corporation of Lytham St. Annes were toasted by Miss Tweedie, of Sydney, Australia, in a speech in which she paid graceful tribute to the town in which Conference was gathered, and to which the Mayor replied.

The Lytham St. Annes Branch was the subject of a toast proposed by Mr. Leslie C. Staples, who emphasised the great work accomplished by Mrs. Graystock in organising and carrying through so great a task when the Branch which she had founded was but three years old. The resounding success which she had achieved would, Mr. Staples hoped, have the most beneficial effect upon the development of the Branch. Alderman E. Wren Hilton, President of the Branch, replied.

* * * * *

On Sunday morning the visitors gathered for Divine Service at St. Thomas's Church at which the Rev. E. G. Potter preached the sermon. He compared the England in which Dickens worked with that of to-day and found that the two post-war periods had much in common. The earlier one had Dickens to assist in the exposing of its evils. To-day he was needed as much as ever.

In the evening a large number of visitors took advantage of the presence of the Rev. George A. Parkinson at the Drive Methodist Church, where he preached the sermon. Those who have listened to his Dickens Recitals, so beautifully delivered and so beautifully selected to point a moral, were not disappointed. Taking his text from the story of Pharaoh's daughter finding the nameless and abandoned child, Mr. Parkinson spoke of Dickens's life-long work for suffering childhood, a work to which, incidentally, he himself has devoted his life. One member of the congregation was so carried away that he quite forgot to take the notes necessary for this report. Those who were present will sympathise and excuse him : they will not quickly forget the effect of that sermon.

After dinner the visitors were entertained by members of the Manchester Branch in the ballroom of the Hotel Majestic. Miss Mary Corney and Mr. Stanley Sutton appeared as Mrs. Nickleby and the "gentleman next door," and Mr. and Mrs. Maurice R. Wilson as Jasper and the "Princess Puffer," in two admirably performed scenes ; Mrs. H. E. Evans gave a highly appreciated recital ; Mr. T. H. Moffett added three fine character studies ; and Miss Mary Corney and Miss Marjorie Lea Axon contributed a novel programme of references to dances in the novels, illustrated on the piano.

* * * * *

The final day of the Conference Meeting was, according to tradition, devoted to an excursion. The drive selected was a long one. When it was announced some thought it too long, but the opportunity of seeing "the delightful village of Dotheboys, in Yorkshire," prompted no less than 160 of the visitors to make the journey which they did in five coaches. The problem of lunch for so large a party is by no means an easy one to solve in a small town like Barnard Castle, but the difficulty was overcome and with glorious weather breaking through in good time the day was voted to be a great success. The very beautiful country traversed was greatly enjoyed and Barnard Castle reached at mid-day. Here an official welcome awaited the pilgrims at the hands of Mrs. A. M. Rutter, Vice-Chairman of the Urban District Council, who joined the party at lunch as also did Mr. J. C. Walker, Clerk to the Council. Headquarters officials were glad of the opportunity of expressing once again to Mr. Walker their gratitude for his kindness in respect of the treasures of the Dickens House, which his Council stored in safety during the war years.

"Dotheboys," alias Bowes, was reached in the early afternoon and by the courtesy of the new proprietor, Mr. Wearmouth, the party

were privileged to inspect the home of Wm. Shaw, the original of Wackford Squeers. At the church, the rector, the Rev. T. L. Wardle, received the visitors and showed them the graves of Shaw and the youth whose ghost, Dickens said, put Smike into his head upon the spot.

The return journey over Bowes Moor and over the Pennines was enjoyed to the full and a Lancashire "high tea" was taken at Kirby Lonsdale, where the opportunity was taken of once again expressing to Mrs. Graystock the gratitude of every visitor to Conference and of the entire Fellowship for the long months of work she had expended on the preparation of the Conference which had been crowned with such conspicuous success. After Mr. Greaves had put this to the meeting, which received it enthusiastically, and Mrs. Graystock had replied, it was gratifying to listen to Mr. Cordery, a member from New Zealand, who rose unexpectedly to pay a tribute to the true spirit of fellowship which he said he was so delighted to experience throughout the meeting from first to last and from everyone with whom he had come in contact. The final drive into St. Annes brought another happy Conference to a close.

L. C. S.

THE DICKENS HOUSE ENDOWMENT FUND

(WALTER DEXTER MEMORIAL)

	£ s. d.		*Branch Total to date.* £ s. d.
Balham Branch	5 0 0		30 0 0
Bath	10 2 3		28 16 3
Birmingham	20 0 0		131 12 0
Blackburn	15 0 0		82 0 0
California Pickwick Club	4 14 6		11 4 6
Hull	9 0 0		14 0 0
Liverpool	31 10 0		126 13 0
Lytham St. Annes	25 0 0		25 0 0
Manchester		1 0 0	
Sale of books		0 12 0	
	1 12 0		220 3 9
Nottingham		35 0 0	
Mr. Cooper Sands's Plays		1 14 0	
	36 14 0		221 19 0
Philadelphia	35 11 2		96 19 4
Redditch		15 15 0	
Mr. Blackford (Needles)		6 0 0	
	21 15 0		94 13 0
Rugby	6 16 6		17 4 6
Seattle	7 8 1		8 9 1
Sheffield	20 0 0		28 8 0
Southend	29 10 0		155 3 0
Victoria	2 3 0		2 9 0
Wellington	18 16 2		48 16 2
Headquarters			
The Lighthouse	61 2 1		
Legacy—Miss Doris Mann	25 4 2		
Sale of Books	11 9 6		
Mr. and Mrs. Proctor (Tea provided after visit to Highgate)	5 10 6		
Whist Drive—Miss Greatwood and Miss Minards	5 5 0		Headquarters total since the institution of "targets" £886 8*s.* 10*d.*
Rev. Geo. Parkinson—Recitals	4 4 0		
Mr. John Greaves—Recitals	3 3 0		
Mr. Philip Maguire	2 15 0		
Mr. C. W. Youell	3 3 0		
Mrs. E. Malcolm, in memory of Mrs. C. E. Newbery	1 1 0		
Miss Rose Smith-Rose, in memory of Mr. G. H. Stuart-Bunning	1 1 0		
Mr. Chas. E. Brown	0 9 0		
Mrs. C. Roberts	0 6 0		
Mr. John E. Murphy	0 5 0		

Total of Fund to date: £5,580 9*s.* 9*d.*

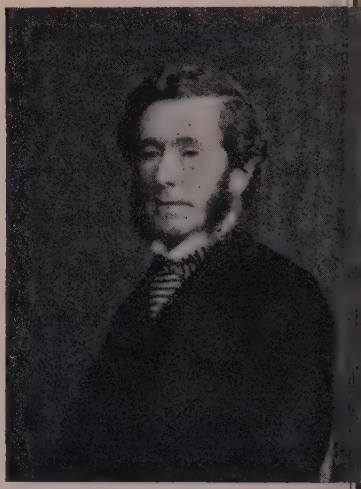
In gratitude and affectionate remembrance we record above the legacy of £25 4*s.* 2*d.* bequeathed by Miss Doris Mann of Headquarters. As we go to press we learn that a further sum of about £20 will accrue from the bequest of the late Sir George Sutton.

DICKENS AND HIS "UGLY DUCKLING"

By T. W. Hill

"LET the opera sink into its native obscurity." So wrote Dickens to R. H. Horne in 1843 when a revival was contemplated of *The Village Coquettes* seven years after its first production at St. James's Theatre, and only a year or so before his death he again anathematised his "dramatic bantling."

But Posterity has not agreed. During Dickens's lifetime, his wishes seem to have been respected, but since his death in 1870 every detail of his career has been the subject of enquiry and interest, and among those details the enthusiasm of investigators has kept alive interest in this early and somewhat immature production, interest that has been more focussed on the literary side than on the musical. It is quite understandable that the bibliography of the burletta should have engaged more attention than its music, seeing that Dickens was a literary artist and not a musician, and our knowledge of the bibliography has been much increased by the work of Kitton, Adair Fitzgerald, Walter Dexter and Grant Miller. John Hullah's music to the burletta has however its own attractions, and the labours of Sir F. Bridge, Hullah himself, and Edward Chadfield have widened our knowledge. No one of these workers provides the complete story, but each supplements the others, and the present essay is an effort to co-ordinate all the available information.



John Hullah

Dickens House Collection

The peculiar and almost incredible events that led to the meteoric appearance and disappearance of *The Village Coquettes* present modern researchers with several difficulties. The burletta was written by two enthusiastic but dramatically inexperienced young men for a state of society totally different from that of to-day, and in a style that defied all the accepted operatic conventions of that time, and in face of more spiteful and perhaps jealous criticism than any young writers ever had to encounter.

Here were two young men, equally enthusiastic, ambitious and confident, trying their hands at something quite new to them except as lookers-on. John Hullah, twenty-three years of age, fresh from his studies at the Royal Academy of Music where he had been a student for singing and theory from 1833 to 1835, was anxious to find an outlet for his talent. He had discovered in a "periodical rejoicing in the promising title of 'The Rejected Drama' the words of an opera called 'The Gondolier' and had sketched out an overture for it." Charles Dickens, whose acquaintance Hullah had recently made, was already making something of a reputation as the "Boz" whose Sketches were attracting attention. Neither of them had yet found exactly the niches they were eventually destined to fill in our national life.

Up to this time Dickens had done nothing of importance; just short sketches and tales, some of them with dramatic possibilities. It was in November or December, 1835, that Hullah proposed col-

laboration to Dickens, and immediately the latter saw a chance of becoming a dramatist. He had plenty of confidence in his own powers and had already tried his hand at serio-comic versification in "The Bill of Fare" written for Maria Beadnell in 1831, imitating the style of Goldsmith's "Retaliation":

"Last, here's Charles Dickens, now gone for ever
It's clear that he thought himself very clever.
To all his friends' faults;—it almost makes me weep;
He was wide awake—to his own fast asleep . . .
His faults, and they were not in number few,
As all his acquaintance extremely well knew,
Emanated—to speak of him in good part—
I think rather more from the head than the heart."

In such a mock epitaph, if written by someone else, the sarcasm would appear savagely cruel, but it shews how he could laugh at himself without malice to others. There was also another poem written about this time in the album of another lady friend, a Miss Georgina Ross, called "A rare old Plant is the Ivy green," afterwards introduced into Chapter VI of *The Pickwick Papers*. Kitton says that "Henry Burnett (Dickens's brother-in-law) set this song to music at Dickens's request and sang it among literary men and artists scores of times"; Burnett himself wrote: "On its being so much admired he said it should go into a monthly number, and it did."

John Braham

Dickens House Collection

An interesting parallel can be seen in the relations between Dickens and Hullah, and those that arose a couple of months later between Dickens and Seymour. It will be remembered that the first idea for the *Pickwick Papers* occurred to Seymour, who proposed that Dickens should write a narrative to accompany the etchings he would provide, that Dickens demurred and thought that the etchings should arise out of and illustrate the letterpress, and that this course was adopted. In the case of the proposed operetta Hullah wanted a libretto for a Venetian subject, and had already composed an overture for "The Gondolier." Dickens demurred and wrote: "while I am at home in England, I am in Venice abroad indeed." Hullah gave way, and Dickens adapted for the stage "A little story by me which I have not yet published, which I think would dramatise well." Then Hullah took immense pains to write tuneful clever music to Dickens's words.

It was a time when Italian opera was immensely popular in England and the works of Rossini, Donizetti, Bellini, Weber and Auber were almost constantly on the stage, while the music in pianoforte arrangement was in every genteel home. The plots of these operas were of the slightest and were merely the medium for tuneful and well-orchestrated music and for the display of the virtuosity of such vocal artists as Grisi, Malibran, Pasta, Catalini, Garcia, Mario, Braham and Lablache.

This, then, was the type of entertainment with which Dickens and

Hullah would be in competition. But they did not aspire to anything like Grand Opera : they would be satisfied with a kind of ballad opera something on the lines of the Beggar's Opera of about a hundred years before their time. There was no reason why they should not aim at something comic and amusing ; perhaps even a mild skit on the fashionable Italian Opera, but it must not be called Comic as that word connoted vulgarity—the kind of vulgarity associated with the music-hall or the " penny gaff " of the day. (Rather low in fact.) So they agreed to call their joint effort by the Italian word *burletta*, a term for a droll or facetious musical drama, derived from *burla*, mockery, and on the original play-bill and on the book of words on sale in the theatre *The Village Coquettes* is described as a " New Operatic Burletta."

While all this was going on Dickens had begun work on *Pickwick Papers* the first number of which appeared on March 31st, 1836, was continuing to write *Sketches by Boz* that were appearing in the Library of Fiction, produced an anonymous pamphlet, " Sunday under Three Heads," and had married the daughter of George Hogarth, the music critic by whose good offices the two collaborators had been introduced to John Braham the renowned and popular tenor, proprietor of St. James's Theatre, who agreed to produce the burletta at his theatre, taking the principal part himself—a wonderful fillip to the aspirants for fame.

Although both Dickens and Hullah worked with fair rapidity *The Village Coquettes* did not on the whole progress quickly enough for its production in the Spring Season of 1836 ; it was not indeed till April or May that it was ready to submit to Braham in anything like a complete state, and even then Hullah in his autobiographical notes recalls his anxiety when he went with Dickens and Hogarth to see the great man. The actual date is uncertain, as Dickens did not date any of his letters and Hullah himself is very vague on the point. Quite early in the year Dickens had written to Hullah : " When, oh, when will the music be ready ? " His energetic spirit would not bear any delay and he wanted to get into touch with Cramers, the music publishers, who, it had been agreed, were to publish the songs in time for the forthcoming production. Of the momentous interview, Hullah writes : " He (Braham) took his position near the pianoforte, and in spite of the unfamiliar handwriting of the MS., read bar after bar as though he had known it all his life, accompanying the performance with kind words, never to be forgotten. Some half-dozen friends strayed in, and the audience was completed by Mrs. Braham, Miss Braham, and others of the family. A long morning, during which I heard nothing but praise, brought this session to a close, and I left The Grange with a sort of understanding that my opera was accepted and would be put in rehearsal at the earliest possible moment."

By July the Finale was written, the work was complete, and Dickens held a little party on the 23rd at Doughty Street to hear the play read over and the music sung. We do not know exactly who was present, as Dickens in his letter of invitation to Macrone, the publisher of *Sketches by Boz*, only says : " . . . join the few friends who wish to hear it," and to Braham : " We read the piece and tried the music, on Saturday evening, before a few confidential friends, literary and musical . . ."

During the next month or so Braham, " who was full of the opera," asked for a few revisions in some of the lyrics and particularly asked for the insertion of a low comedy part without singing. This was done and the part (that of Martin Stokes) was allotted to J. P. Harley the popular Stage Manager at the theatre. Dickens had occupied his leisure by dramatising one of his Boz Sketches, " The Great Winglebury Duel," under the title " The Strange Gentleman " and Braham

opened his autumn Season on September 29th with Harley in the title rôle ; it enjoyed a long run and some revivals.

So, at last, in September rehearsals of *The Village Coquettes* began in earnest and the burletta was produced on December 6th with the fiftieth performance of *The Strange Gentleman* as the second play on the programme a Boz evening indeed. Hullah considered the performance " a success and that of a very decided kind," but he was evidently recalling the music only, for he goes on " I hardly know how to speak of the feeling of my collaborator respecting his share in the matter . . . I fear he never quite forgave me for being mixed up with him in this."

Truth to tell, the burletta did not have a good press. With the exception of the " Morning Post," practically the whole of the criticisms were severe on the author almost to spitefulness. Most of them can be found in *The Dickensian* for 1934 appended to Dickens's correspondence with Hullah and compiled by Walter Dexter, and also in *The Dickensian* for 1937 in an article entitled " A Stage Aside." Attached to that article is the full reproduction of a criticism of special importance, as it appeared in " The Examiner " and was the work of John Forster, at that time a young man the same age as Dickens. It is remarkable for the " Heavy Father " tone so characteristic of the writing of Forster in his later years ; it is very critical, almost unfriendly, but it did not prevent its author, when he met the young playwright a few weeks later, from becoming almost immediately the most intimate friend Dickens ever had.

Hullah's music received more lenient treatment, and this attitude of the press may well have been due to the fact that *The Village Coquettes* was so English ; English in scene, in atmosphere, in plot, as different as possible from the foreign style of the fashionable opera. Hullah's music was essentially English, very tuneful and vocable, with effective though simple accompaniments in the English ballad tradition.

In view of these criticisms it is not surprising that instead of a run of fifty nights as predicted by Harley, or of the sixty successive nights that was Hullah's impression writing nearly fifty years afterwards, *The Village Coquettes* was withdrawn on December 24th after nineteen performances. It was revived for single performances at unequal intervals during the early months of 1837, and even for these presentations the house had to be " papered." The last performance, noted on the play-bill as " by special desire," was on May 17th, and then it disappears altogether.

When the first run of *The Village Coquettes* ceased on December 24th, 1836, it went to Edinburgh for presentation at the Theatre Royal, and there a sad calamity befell the musical score, which, with all the vocal parts, was destroyed by fire. Hullah, in his autobiographical memoranda, says : " Not many days after its first performance (at Edinburgh) the theatre was destroyed by fire and the separate parts with it. A few copies of these were all that ever came back to me and, save some songs, I never saw the work again. The concerted music perished utterly, and, my mind filled with designs for other work, I never gave myself the trouble of writing it out again." F. G. Kitton, in 1900, repeats Hullah's account, but whether he had made independent investigation is not known.* In 1932 Mr. Grant Miller thought it would be interesting to verify these statements and in a long and exhaustive letter to the " Scotsman," dated December 30th, 1932, gave his conclusions. " No reference to the opera can be found in 1836 or 1837 issues of the ' Scotsman,' ' The Courant,' or ' The

* The statement that the theatre was burnt down has been constantly repeated ever since even in the Oxford Companion to Music by Percy Scholes (1941).

Advertiser,' and there was no theatrical play-bill announcing its appearance at either the Theatre Royal, 1836 to 1848, or at the Adelphi Theatre, 1836 to 1842." Nor is there any mention of it in Lawson's "Story of the Scots Stage" or Dibdin's "Annals of the Edinburgh Stage." (The first recorded fire in the nineteenth century at an Edinburgh theatre did not occur in 1853.)

Mr. Grant Miller advances a theory that may well reconcile these conflicting statements. He suggests that if, after the withdrawal of *The Village Coquettes* on December 24th, 1836, the score and parts were immediately dispatched to Edinburgh they would have arrived on or about December 26th. Now there *was* a disastrous fire in Edinburgh on December 27th, not at the theatre but in Green-side Row, where forty-five families were rendered homeless. Among the sufferers were Mr. Joseph Power of the Theatre Royal and Mr. Ferrers the Deputy-Manager, Prompter and Librarian to the theatre, who lost a valuable collection of theatrical MSS. and music ("Scotsman," December 27th). Mr. Grant Miller's theory is that the music of *The Village Coquettes* may quite possibly have been sent from London to Mr. Ferrers for the theatre, and that when the report of the loss of the music reached London its purport was misinterpreted. Anyway, neither Hullah, Dickens nor Braham seems to have troubled to verify the account or to have taken any further notice.

For the revivals of the burletta in London in the spring of 1837 the music must have been provided from the detached songs published by Cramer, and the scraps returned to Hullah from Scotland, but nothing is known for certain on this point, nor can any information be traced as to whence the overture was provided.

So matters rested as regards the musical score until early in the present century. Then came on to the scene Sir Frederick Bridge, who had as a chorister at Rochester Cathedral seen Dickens in the flesh and had remained a Dickens lover all his life. He was the Gresham Professor of Music as well as being Organist of Westminster Abbey. One day he acquired a copy of the libretto of *The Village Coquettes* and also a few of the original songs in MS. (presumably in addition to those mentioned above as published by Cramer). He wrote some music to replace the lost items and used the resultant settings as the subject for his Gresham Lectures in 1918. A few years later Sir Frederick edited the surviving original music, recast the burletta in modernised form, and the Trinity College of Music consented to perform the whole in June, 1924. Sir Frederick died in February, 1924, but the performance took place as arranged, and, to quote Mr. Avalon Collard's Foreword to the Programme: "he could only use in its entirety the Quintet in the Finale of Act 2. Apart from this, there is a suggestion only in one or two of the songs of Hullah's original melodies. The Opening Chorus of Act 1 is adapted to the old tune, 'Come, lassies and lads.' The Jigg is by William Lawes and John Jenkins, dating from about 1625; the Madrigal is by Weelkes (about 1600); the Masquers' Song is from an ancient source; for the Loure which is used as the Masquers' Dance, we are indebted to the research of Dr. C. W. Pearce. With these exceptions the music is the original composition of Sir Frederick Bridge." One must notice that apparently not much of Hullah remained.

There was, however, another worker in the same field; one with possibly a closer sympathy with Hullah and his methods.

Mr. Edward J. Chadfield, Mus.Bac., Oxon., had been devoting the leisure of many years to a close study of all the available surviving material, and his intimate knowledge of the life-work and methods of Hullah combined with a genuine love for everything Dickens wrote, convinced him as it had convinced Bridge, that the only way to ensure

appreciation of the many beauties of Hullah's setting to Dickens's lyrics was to reconstruct the whole work. It is known of course that Hullah composed many part-songs and vocal exercises in the course of his educational career and many of his compositions shew that the same musical phrases were often used more than once and with different words fitted (not always very well) to them ; examples exist in which sad words are wedded to lively strains and vice versa ; Mr. Chadfield found that Hullah had used some of his *Village Coquettes* tunes for the exercises in his edition of Wilhem's " Manual of Singing." So, when Mr. Chadfield undertook his revision he adhered to the text of the burletta as published by Bentley, reproduced as they were the nine pieces published by Cramer, and for the rest, in his own words : " The music for eight other items, supposed to have been lost, has been recovered by careful comparison. Fortunately in every case intrinsic evidence, and the exact agreement of whole phrases of the words and melodies, not only in rhythm but also in the correct emotional expression, make the truth of the selection a practical certainty almost self-evident." And in every case Mr. Chadfield gives the source from which he has drawn the tune. His further justification he found in a letter written in 1866 by Hullah, asking for Dickens's consent to republish the music of the opera, to which Dickens sent the following reply : " . . . I am not proud of my share in the Village Coquettes and would rather let the songs (the words of the songs I mean) die quietly . . . but if you like to republish them as compositions of your own, making no mention whatever of the ingenious author's name, but leaving him to blush anonymously, you are at perfect liberty to do so."

Mr. Chadfield's scholarly reconstruction of the burletta was successfully performed in 1937—a sort of centenary celebration—by Miss Edith Neville's People's Theatre at St. Pancras ; Sir Ben Greet generously gave much valuable advice about the production, which was presented without scenery other than draperies. It was all undertaken in the gayest spirits as befits a comic opera, the idea being " to make the play a production by country people pretending to be actors for their own amusement, instead of actors pretending to be country people for professional purposes," a method of interpretation that proved eminently satisfactory both to the company and to the audience.

It is certainly to be hoped that in the near future this reconstructed version may receive another hearing, as it will keep alive one of Dickens's early works wedded to the early work of John Hullah. It need not be mounted with scenery so extravagant as the elaborate attractions set out in such large and emphatic type on the original play-bill of 1836.

The Village Coquettes has a further interest for us besides the bibliographical and musical with which we have been dealing. Henry Burnett, in a letter written to F. G. Kitton about 1887, says : " As to Mary Hogarth . . . I can see her sweet face looking over the Box, on the stage of St. James's Theatre as it appeared on the night she died. Braham had been playing at his own theatre night after night, and having as he told me been fifty-two years on the stage, he felt worn, and I was asked if I would come out in his part in *The Village Coquettes*. Dickens had a box on the night and with him were his mother, father, wife and Mary Hogarth. My future wife [Fanny Dickens] was nervous and did not go . . . " We know that Burnett had already taken Braham's part in the burletta on April 11th as he was then specially billed as " Henry Burnett of the Theatre Royal, Edinburgh " and now he speaks of the performance on May 6th (as we know that Mary died on Sunday, May 7th, 1837).

The other matter of interest concerns Dickens's sister Fanny. It is certainly very odd that her name does not ever appear in connection

with *The Village Coquettes*. She was Dickens's favourite sister; she was a talented vocalist, trained by Crivelli, and a brilliant pianist, a pupil of the great Moscheles, and it was through her friendship with Hullah at the Royal Academy that in all probability he came to know Dickens. One would naturally conclude that she would have been interested in this musical production, but she was not chosen for any part in the burletta, she is not mentioned as being present at any rehearsal or at the trial reading in July 1836 or at the opening night or any subsequent performance. Burnett says that on May 6th, 1837 "my future wife was nervous and did not go." Nervous of what? Nervous for her future husband who had already taken the part on April 11th? Nervous for the play that was more than six months old? Nervous of sitting with her brother? Well, perhaps; let us look back a few years. On April 27th, 1833, during his nerve-racking acquaintance with Maria Beadnell, Dickens had got up some Private Theatricals at his father's house in Bentinck Street, and in Bishop's opera "Clari" Fanny had sustained the title rôle, and, of course, had sung the song *Home sweet home*, by which the opera is chiefly remembered. A few days later Dickens discovered the malice of Mary Anne Leigh (of which Fanny knew but did not say anything for fear, one may imagine, of causing mischief) that finally brought about the end of his romantic courtship. Dickens wrote to Maria that he would never forgive Fanny for not revealing her knowledge to him. Did some of the soreness thus engendered still linger when *The Village Coquettes* was produced? A pendant may be added: Burnett, in his letter, speaks of Fanny as "My future wife," and they were married four months later (September 13th) at St. Luke's Church, Chelsea, where Dickens himself had been married only eighteen months previously. The witnesses who signed the register were Henry Austin (Letitia's husband) and Elizabeth Dickens (Charles and Fanny's mother), but no evidence has come to light that Charles attended the ceremony. That Fanny was entirely forgiven we know, as the Burnetts dined at Doughty Street on Dickens's birthday in 1839. They also stayed with the Dickenses at Broadstairs in 1841, and went with him to Windsor when he was convalescent after his operation some weeks later the same year, and Dickens and his wife went a few years later to pay a prolonged visit to the Burnetts at their Manchester home. Moreover, Dickens's affectionate solicitude for Fanny during her last illness is on record.

The moderate success of *The Village Coquettes* did not entirely discourage Dickens from writing for the stage and "Is She his Wife?" was produced; and then he wrote "The Lamplighter" which was refused by Macready, who also turned down Dickens's offer to dramatise for him *Oliver Twist*. He never indeed lost his theatrical interest as we know from his appearances as an amateur actor, and the prompt copies of "The Frozen Deep" by Wilkie Collins, and "Mr. Nightingale's Diary" by Mark Lemon, shew many interpolations by Dickens, amendments that vastly improved those plays.

The many months of work together of course produced a cordial friendship between the collaborators, although they never worked together again; Hullah visited Gad's Hill many times; but their careers lay in diverse paths and each of them by sticking to his true metier attained national eminence in his proper rôle: Hullah became the greatest force ever known for the promotion of English choral singing; on Dickens's rise to supreme heights it is not necessary to dwell.

For *The Village Coquettes* let us be deeply thankful; its publication contained the first appearance of the name of Charles Dickens as the avowed author of a work, and to it we owe the historical friendship that lasted between John Forster and Charles Dickens till that fatal June 9th, 1870. Not such an Ugly Duckling after all.

DICKENS'S SUCCESS WITH *HOUSEHOLD WORDS*

By William E. Buckler—University of Illinois

FROM 1850 to 1859 Charles Dickens was managing editor of *Household Words*, a weekly journal of general literature. According to the terms of the co-partnership formed for the conduct of the journal, Dickens was to take half the profits and pay half the losses; Bradbury & Evans, the printers and publishers, one-quarter; John Forster, one-eighth; and William Henry Wills, one-eighth. Dickens was to be editor at a salary of £500 a year, in addition to payment for his own literary articles and his share of profits. Bradbury & Evans were the printers and publishers and managers of the commercial department. Forster was to contribute occasional literary articles without any additional remuneration. Wills became sub-editor at a salary of £8 a week in addition to his share of profits.[1] In his capacity as editor, Dickens had absolute control over the literary department of the magazine and over all the agreements, rates of payment, and orders for payment in respect of the literary department. Bradbury & Evans, on the other hand, assumed all responsibility for the commercial department of the undertaking: acquiring and renting the necessary premises; entering into all contracts connected with the printing and publishing of *Household Words*; keeping in the usual and necessary account books a "complete and particular" account of all sums of money paid and received, of all debts contracted, of sales and purchases made, and of all other matters conducive to and proper for manifesting the true state of the affairs of the publication; providing all the necessary capital for carrying on the publication during any current half-year period; and printing *Household Words* "in a good and workmanlike manner and at a fair and reasonable charge . . ."[2] Thus, as Bradbury & Evans state in their affidavit, *Household Words* "was accordingly established and has ever since been carried on under the said Articles of Co-partnership and such Periodical has been very successful and the Copyright thereof is now of great value . . ."

Just how valuable the copyright of *Household Words* was, the table on the following page of the bi-annual profits accruing to the various shareholders will definitely demonstrate.

The very first payment of profits to the co-proprietors shows that they had undertaken a very successful project indeed. And this success continued with little noteworthy recession until the magazine shows its highest profits in the statement for March 31st, 1853. Then there are two rather sharp decreases, followed by a remarkable climb in the statement for September 30th, 1854. This improved aspect is maintained in the next half-yearly statement. Thereafter, there is a regular variation, with the March statement always considerably higher than the preceding September statement.

[1] Here I have followed the statement of the original agreement taken from records kept by Wills and given by R. C. Lehmann in *Charles Dickens as Editor* (London, 1912), p. 19.

[2] These further details of the agreement are taken from the sworn statement of Bradbury & Evans in the affidavit filed in Chancery on March 24th, 1859; on March 25th Dickens filed his affidavit as a defendant and in no way repudiated the terms of the partnership as herein stated. The subject of the quarrel between Dickens and his publishers which finally ended in the public sale and discontinuance of *Household Words* in 1859 deserves some little re-investigation. And key documents for such a study are these affidavits and the Prospectus for *Once a Week* issued by Bradbury & Evans later in the same year.

THE BI-ANNUAL PROFITS FROM *Household Words*.[1]

Date.	*Dickens.*			*B. & E.*[2]			*Forster & Wills,*[3] *each*			*Total.*		
	£	*s.*	*d.*	£	*s.*	*d.*	£	*s.*	*d.*	£	*s.*	*d.*
Sept. 30, 1850	263	2	7	131	11	4	65	15	8	526	5	2
Mar. 31, 1851	594	6	8	297	3	4	148	11	8	1,188	13	4
Sept. 30, 1851	558	3	7	279	1	10	139	10	11	1,116	7	2
Mar. 31, 1852	453	4	5	226	12	4	113	6	2	906	8	10
Sept. 30, 1852	482	8	7	241	4	4	120	12	2	964	17	2
Mar. 31, 1853	651	10	5	325	15	2	162	17	7	1,303	0	10
Sept. 30, 1853	263	17	11	131	19	0	65	19	6	527	15	10
Mar. 31, 1854	196	13	7	98	6	10	49	3	5	393	7	2
Sept. 30, 1854	466	8	10	233	4	4	116	12	2	932	17	8
Dec. 31, 1854[4]	1,000	0	0	168	8	10	84	4	5	336	17	8
May 8, 1855	472	15	1	236	7	6	118	3	9	945	10	2
Nov. 8, 1855	236	17	6	118	8	10	59	4	5	473	15	0
Mar. 31, 1856	416	0	10	208	0	4	104	0	2[5]	832	1	8
Sept. 30, 1856	192	6	5	96	3	2	48	1	7	384	12	10
Mar. 31, 1857	511	10	8	255	15	4	127	17	8	1,023	1	4
Sept. 30, 1857	335	13	1	167	16	6	83	18	3	671	6	2
Mar. 31, 1858	537	19	5	268	19	8	134	9	10	1,075	18	10
Sept. 30, 1858	305	14	6	152	17	2	76	8	7	611	9	0

[1] These figures are taken from an Author's Ledger in the possession of Bradbury, Agnew & Co.; Alan G. Agnew, Esq., the Managing Director, has kindly made the material available to me and has given me permission to print it.

[2] The profits accruing to Bradbury & Evans are not given in the ledger. I have arrived at the figure given here merely by doubling the eighth share of Forster or Wills. There is a slight variation from this figure if the procedure of taking half of Dickens's profits is used. The variation even in the gra... total, however, is not a considerable one.

[3] Forster and Wills each received the sums listed beneath their names here... and, of course, separate records were kept for each in the ledger.

[4] The entry for September 30th, 1854, indicates the profits from *Household Words* after the serialisation of Dickens's *Hard Times*; however, the entry for December 31st, 1854, must be taken in connection with it, since it gives the amount paid to Dickens as an "Extra Payment" for his novel, as well as the "Balance" received by the other proprietors after its publication. It is known that Dickens drew up a special resolution concerning the serialisation of this novel in *Household Words*, and this entry at least partially explains the nature of that resolution.

[5] Forster surrendered his one-eighth share in the profits from the magazine in February, 1856; and Dickens assumed the disposition of the share. The ledger, however, lists Forster's profits along with those of Dickens and Wills through September 30th, 1858.

[6] If it were not for one missing element—namely, the expenses of Bradbury & Evans in the commercial department of the publication—it would be possible to arrive at a close approximation of the actual circulation of *Household Words*. Some speculation on the circulation for one half-year may not be out of place here, though the figure arrived at can be only a suggestion of what the circulation must have approached for this period. We can arrive at a figure of £1,940 18*s.* 0*d.* for the profits and literary expenses for Nos. 418-444, and this figure can in turn be broken down in the following fashion: Dickens's salary, £250; Wills's salary, £208; Morley's salary, £136 10*s.* 0*d.*; Collins's salary, £136 10*s.* 0*d.*; payment to Mrs. Gaskell for *My Lady Ludlow*, £100; other literary contributions, £498 9*s.* 0*d.*; and the half-yearly profits, £611 9*s.* 0*d.* (I have drawn the amounts paid for literary contributions from the Contributors' Book with the kind permission of John Lehmann, Esq.) Now the average cost for paper and print, binding, showcards, wrappers, rent, advertising, commission to agents, and so forth for each of the first four volumes of *Once a Week* was about £6,000; and since the format of this latter journal was very close to that of its immediate

A look at the publication itself will provide some explanation for these, in some cases rather marked, variations.[1] Three factors, I think, most influenced the success of *Household Words*: (1) a strong editorial hand and a corps of writers on whom the proprietors could reasonably depend for good work; (2) attractive serials; and (3) the Christmas Numbers.[2] In treating each of these points, we shall see how the subsequent conduct of *All the Year Round* bears out our conclusions.

It was stated above that Dickens, according to the original agreement between the various proprietors of *Household Words*, was to have absolute control over the literary department of the magazine.[3] And together with Wills, he employed a very strong hand indeed.[4] The

predecessor, we may substitute this figure for *Household Words* for our present purposes. (I have taken this information on *Once a Week* from ledgers in the possession of Bradbury, Agnew & Co. with the permission of the Managing Director, Alan G. Agnew, Esq.) Even admitting sales in monthly parts and volumes, we should find 2*d*. the average return per number sold. Thus, in order to return £7,940 18*s* 0*d*., more than 950,000 copies of *Household Words* must have been sold weekly during this period, that of the eighteenth volume. We can observe something here about the lack of success of Wills's attempts to keep the average cost of literary contributions down to £16 a number (Lehmann, *op. cit.*, p. 35); the average cost of contributions per number for the period considered in the note is about £30.

[1] It should be kept in mind that Dickens felt that the ruin of a publication like *Household Words* could be a very rapid one, even a matter of weeks. This is seen in his agitation over the serialisation of Mrs. Gaskell's *North and South* in *Household Words* and of Charles Lever's *A Day's Ride: A Life's Romance* in *All the Year Round*.

[2] There are three other factors which we must mention in passing as possibly having some slight influence on the profits realised from the magazine, though I think that they can be dismissed as in no way decisive. These are the following: the publication from 1850 to 1855 of a monthly news-pamphlet supplement to *Household Words* called *The Household Narrative of Current Events*; *The Household Words Almanac* published for the years 1856 and 1857; and the American reprint of the journal itself. The first of these was never very remunerative and did not survive the newspaper tax. The lack of success of the second, Dickens himself comments upon (Lehmann, p. 190); and its quick discontinuance would further indicate its failure. With reference to the third, the American reprint, it must be remembered that the 1850's were years of copyright agitation in America, and because of the lack of a settled policy, Dickens refused to enter into an agreement with an American publisher. Certainly before 1854 Dickens realised no profits whatsoever from the American reprint; and it was after Dickens's decision to discontinue the publication that an American copyright could be satisfactorily obtained. In a subsequent article I shall give some explanation for the lack of success of *Household Words* in America in contrast with the phenomenal success of *All the Year Round*.

[3] This is an important point, I think, especially since Bradbury & Evans were the publishers and co-proprietors of the magazine, and as such inclined to interfere considerably with the work of their editors. In an article which I am preparing on *Once a Week*, I shall demonstrate that two things had a considerable part in keeping that journal from a much more successful career: (1) the interference of Bradbury & Evans and their successors with the authority of the editors—Samuel Lucas, Edward Walford, and E. S. Dallas; and (2) too much dependence on "outsiders" for contributions. Some idea of Dickens's reaction to a publisher's interference with his editorial duties can be got from his dealings with Henry Colburn in the matter of the *Pic-nic Papers*.

[4] Charles Lever, [the novelist, who as a contributor to *Household Words* had some experience of Dickens's methods as an editor,] spoke of Dickens's assertiveness as follows: "[T]he return of Dickens to C. & H. [Chapman & Hall] will make them so entirely *his* as to leave no margin to attend to any other interests." Lionel Stevenson, *Dr. Quicksilver. The Life of Charles Lever* (London, 1939), p. 238.

efforts of both Dickens and Wills were directed towards gathering around themselves a corps of writers who would give to the project two things: a unified front dictated by the principles both literary and otherwise that Dickens himself held; and within this general idea, variety to the contents.[1] By no means must the journal blow "hot and cold" and play "fast and loose, in a ridiculous way."[2] This corps of Dickens followers was soon formed and with some variations in the personnel continued throughout the history of *Household Words*, as some calculations from the Contributors' Book will indicate. In Volumes I, II, and III there are slightly over 700 contributions.[3] Of these, about 48 per cent. were by four contributors; about 53 per cent. by eight contributors; about 57 per cent. by ten contributors; and about 67 per cent. by sixteen contributors. Here are the nine most regular contributors to these three volumes, in the order of the frequency of their contributions: W. H. Wills, Charles Dickens, R. H. Horne, Henry Morley, W. B. Jerrold, Charles Knight, Samuel Sidney, F. K. Hunt, and Harriet Martineau. A look at the mid-years of the journal reveals much the same aspect. In Volumes VII and VIII there were some 390 contributions; and of these about 75 per cent. were by a group of twenty contributors. Most regularly appearing in the Contributors' Book for these two volumes are the following names: Henry Morley, Charles Dickens, Mr. Dodd, W. Hepworth Dixon, George A. Sala, W. H. Wills, Mr. Capper, Mrs. Gaskell, Edmund Ollier, Bayle St. John, E. C. Grenville Murray, and Adelaide Procter. And the last four volumes, XVI, XVII, XVIII, and XIX of the more than 600 contributions 75 per cent. were by twenty contributors, and principal among these are seven: Henry Morley, John Hollingshead, Percy Fitzgerald, Wilkie Collins, James Payn, Mrs. Lynn Linton, and George Walter Thornbury.[4] That Dickens was convinced of the essential value of this group of regulars both to his own editorial labours and to the attractiveness of the magazine is seen from the statement to his subscribers announcing the incorporation of *Household Words* into *All the Year Round*: "In transferring myself, and my strongest energies, from the publication that is about to be discontinued to the publication that is about to be begun, I have the happiness of taking with me the staff of writers with whom I have laboured, and all the literary and business co-operation that can make my work a pleasure."[5]

Forster says that through the serialisation of *Hard Times*, Dickens more than doubled the circulation of *Household Words*.[6] It is obvious

[1] Lehmann, p. 311.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 100.

[3] Each contribution is not a separate article. The Contributors' Books sometimes lists an article as by two people, e.g. R. H. Horne and W. H. Wills. In my tabulation, therefore, I have had to consider this as two contributions.

[4] It is worth noting that Dickens and Wills were not among the twenty most frequent contributors to the last four volumes of *Household Words*, whereas they had been by far the most frequent contributors to the first three volumes. But their "corps" had been formed and operated with little major interference from the editorial staff. It should be noted that during the last five numbers both Dickens and Wills were busily at work on *All the Year Round*, which was appearing concurrently.

[5] *Household Words*, XIX (May 28th, 1859), 601.

[6] *The Life of Charles Dickens* (London, 1874), III, 45. This is a rather misleading statement. In the first place, the circulation of the journal was almost at its lowest ebb in the half-year just before the serialisation of *Hard Times* began. If we consider this fact, plus the increased circulation necessary to return the profits in addition to the extra £1,000 paid Dickens for the novel, we conclude that the circulation was increased by four or five times. It is, however, considerably less than double the other high-water marks in the circulation of the journal.

from the table of profits, too, that *North and South*, while it did not equal the success of *Hard Times*,[1] maintained the circulation of the journal. And yet Dickens, as late as 1856, was still in favour rather of papers complete in one issue than of long stories. For example, he wrote to Wills on September 18th, 1856, concerning a proposal for a long story by Wilkie Collins: "[A]s to a long story itself, I doubt its value to us. And I feel perfectly convinced that it is not one quarter so useful to us as detached papers, or short stories in four parts."[2] Despite Dickens's question, two serial stories and four "series" of articles did appear in *Household Words* from October, 1856, to May, 1859, a period during which we can see a marked increase in the profits, in both the March and the September statements. And the first six volumes of *All the Year Round* show that Dickens was finally and thoroughly convinced of the importance of serials. In this later journal, the success of which was phenomenal, the serial story was the principal regular attraction. In the first number, Dickens's *A Tale of Two Cities* began; this ran through to its conclusion in No. 31. The last instalment of Dickens's story and the first of Collins's *The Woman in White* overlapped in No. 31. The latter ran through to No. 70, and Lever's *A Day's Ride: A Life's Romance* began in No. 69, continuing through to No. 100. Because of the lack of success of Lever's story, Dickens began *Great Expectations* in No. 84 and concluded it in No. 119. Then Bulwer-Lytton's *A Strange Story* began in No. 120 and was brought to a close in No. 150. Dickens was certainly convinced: not a single number of the first six volumes of *All the Year Round* appeared without an instalment of a serialised novel.

It is readily seen from the statement of profits for *Household Words* that the Christmas Numbers had a very considerable influence on the success of the magazine. From Christmas, 1852,[3] to Christmas, 1858, in all cases but one[4] the March statement, which would naturally include the returns from the preceding Christmas Number, shows a considerable increase. And the stress which Dickens placed on the

[1] It must be kept in mind that the figure given here for May 8th, 1855, includes the profits from the Christmas Number for 1854.

[2] Lehmann, pp. 222-23. Dickens had probably not forgotten the extreme editorial difficulties he had faced in the division of Mrs. Gaskell's *North and South* for serial publication. And his acceptance of Collins's story—*The Dead Secret*—was at least an element in his attempt to get Collins as a regular staff member.

[3] This number is chosen because it is the first which follows the pattern of later Christmas Numbers. The first Christmas Number, in 1850, had been a regular 24-page issue in the series; the number for Christmas, 1851, was an extra number, containing 36 pages, but the boldest type still presented *Household Words* to the purchaser's eye. Beginning with 1852, however, the contents of the extra number itself are presented in the boldest type; this procedure is thereafter followed. Beginning with the Christmas Number for 1856, the stories by different hands became more closely unified around a central theme. For example: *The Wreck of the Golden Mary* (1856); *The Perils of Certain English Prisoners* (1857); *A House to Let* (1858). This practice was continued in *All the Year Round*.

[4] This exception is seen in the statement for March 31st, 1854, which includes the returns from the Christmas Number for 1853. The reason for this is obvious enough and shows Dickens in a quite unusual editorial lapse. The Christmas Number for 1852 had been entitled *A Round of Stories* [largest type] *by the Christmas Fire*. These stories were very successful indeed, as a look at the table of profits will show, and the following year Dickens obviously thought that he could do no better than repeat his scheme in *Another Round of Stories* [largest type] *by the Christmas Fire*. It was an unfortunate repetition, handled with much less fancy and with less of the usual heart-appeal. It did not succeed. In *All the Year Round*, on the other hand, a like repetition in the Christmas Numbers was very successfully done: *Mrs. Lirriper's Lodgings* (1863) and *Mrs. Lirriper's Legacy* (1864).

superiority of these numbers indicates his convictions on the subject. He often planned the central idea through many months ahead[1] and was insistent that only the best materials should be got for it.[2] And without exception the papers that were used were by authors whose abilities Dickens was well acquainted with from previous contributions. With few exceptions, the list of contributors to the Christmas Numbers duplicates that of the corps of regular contributors to the journal: Charles Dickens (14),[3] Wilkie Collins (8),[4] Adelaide Procter (6), Mrs. Gaskell (4), George A. Sala (3), W. Hepworth Dixon (2), Percy Fitzgerald (2), Mrs. Lynn Linton (2), Harriett Parr (2), Samuel Sidney (2), James White (2), Miss Griffiths (1), William Howitt (1), Harriet Martineau (1), Edmund Ollier (1), William M. Thomas (1), and W. H. Wills (1).[5] This concern for the Christmas Numbers Dickens carried over into *All the Year Round*.[6] A few quotations from Dickens's letters will demonstrate this beyond doubt. December 13th, 1861: "The news of the Xmas No. is indeed Glorious, and nothing can look brighter or better than the prospects of the Illustrious Publication."[7] September 14th, 1862: "You will be perhaps a little surprised (and not disagreeably) to learn that I have done the opening and end of the Xmas No. (!) and that I mean soon to be at work on a pretty story for it. I think what I have done is exceedingly droll, and new."[8] January 29th, 1863: "The rise, I take to be consequent on the Xmas No."[9] December 20th, 1863: "Mrs. Lirriper is indeed a brilliant old lady. God bless her!"[10] October 16th, 1864: "My expectations of 'Mrs. Lirriper's' sale, are not so mighty as yours. But I am heartily glad and grateful to be honestly able to believe that she is nothing but a good 'un. It is the condensation of a quantity of subject and the very greatest pains.[11] Finally, January 24th, 1867: "We shall evidently see our 265,000."[12]

[1] See Lehmann, pp. 185, 224, 248-49, 256, 308, 329 and 338.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 311. There Dickens says of the Christmas Number: "[T]he best of the papers that come in must be taken for that. . . ." And pp. 314-15: "[T]he Xmas No. can only be made up, on a careful comparison of the relative merits and possibilities of the best things we have."

[3] The figures behind the names give the number of contributions to the Christmas Numbers from 1852 to 1858.

[4] In recommending that Wills arrange with Collins to be a regular staff member, Dickens had written: "I think it right, abstractedly, in the case of a careful and good writer on whom we can depend for Xmas Nos. and the like." Lehmann, p. 218.

[5] I have taken this information from the Contributors' Book for *Household Words* cited above.

[6] In this later journal the Christmas Numbers are 48 pages instead of 36. The emphasis on a single theme was maintained, with Dickens providing the framework and his corps of writers furnishing the individual tales, until the Christmas of 1867, *No Thoroughfare*. In this number, a single tale, Dickens and Wilkie Collins shared the writing.

[7] Lehmann, pp. 299-300.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 308.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 325.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 330. *Mrs. Lirriper's Lodgings.*

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 339. *Mrs. Lirriper's Legacy.*

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 356. The amazing sale of *Mugby Junction*, the Christmas Number for 1866. Seven of Dickens's Christmas Numbers were reviewed in *The Times*: that of *Household Words* for 1857 (December 24th, p. 4) by Samuel Lucas; and those of *All the Year Round* for 1862 (December 4th, p. 3), 1863 (December 3rd, p. 12), 1864 (December 2nd, p. 12), 1865 (December 6th, p. 6), 1866 (December 5th, p. 5), and 1867 (December 27th, p. 9), all by E. S. Dallas. Judgments like the following, taken at random, characterise Dallas's reviews: "[O]utdoes everything of the kind that has hitherto been invented." "Let everybody read our great humorist's account of Mrs.

For its time and type, *Household Words* was a very successful journal. And for this there were three principal reasons: Dickens's strong editorial hand and band of supporters; attractive serials; and Christmas Numbers. The first of these was an object towards which Dickens and Wills worked vigorously at the beginning, and with what results we have seen. With reference to the second and third, *Household Words* developed into a sort of proving ground. When Dickens announced the incorporation of this earlier magazine, which he deliberately killed owing to his disagreements with Bradbury and Evans, into *All the Year Round*, he stated: "In some important respects, I am now free greatly to advance on past arrangements."[1] He saw in the former pages a mere starting-place for his new venture. In them Dickens had experimented with serials and with the Christmas Numbers; and in the table of profits we can see, as could he, the influence of these upon the commercial success of the journal. Then in *All the Year Round*, a continuation and extension of *Household Words*, he employed these methods to promote a circulation larger than that of any other similar magazine.

Lirriper." "The plainest, the homeliest, the cheapest, the least promising of the Christmas books—it is the best of all, the liveliest, the longest-lived, and the most successful." Lucas could not well have reviewed the Christmas Numbers of *All the Year Round*, for he was editor of *Once a Week*, in competition with Dickens. I am more than grateful to John S. Maywood, Esq., librarian for *The Times*, for identifying these reviews as by Lucas and Dallas from the editorial diaries.

[1] *Household Words*, XIX (May 28th, 1859), 601.

DICKENSIANA

Nicholas Nickleby, with an introduction by Dame Sybil Thorndike. Oxford Univ. Press, 10*s.* 6*d.*

Inclinations (with a chapter on Dickens). Edward Sackville West. Secker & Warburg, 12*s.* 6*d.*

Nineteenth-Century Fiction

Nicholas Nickleby and Educational Reform. A. A. Adrian. December, 1949.

Dickens, "The True Sun," and Laman Blanchard. C. H. Vivian. March, 1950.

Was Edwin Drood Murdered? R. M. Baker. September and December, 1949.

What might have been a Study for Droodians. R. M. Baker. March and June, 1950.

"The Editorial Policies of Charles Dickens." Gerald G. Grubb, *P.M.L.A.* (N.Y.), December, 1943.

"Dickens and the *Daily News*." Gerald G. Grubb, *Booker Mem. Studies*, Univ. N. Carolina, 1950.

"Dickens and the Scandalmongers." Edward Wagenknecht, *College English*, Chicago, April, 1950.

"Dickens and the Divided Conscience." Angus Wilson, *The Month*, May, 1950.

"Charles Dickens." Compton Mackenzie, *Irish Library Bulletin*, April-May, 1950.

"Dickens and Marriage." Collin Brooks, *Truth*, May 28th, 1950.

"Review of Recent Dickensian Biography." Donal O'Sullivan, *Studies* (Dublin), June, 1950.

"The Bunch of Grapes." Anthony Rudd, *The Old Lady of Threadneedle Street*, June.

TELEGRAPH HILL, HAMPSTEAD

DICKENS'S love for Hampstead is a fact that needs no stressing at this time of day. His visits to Jack Straw's Castle and his stay at Collins Farm (later Wyldes Farm), in 1837, are well documented—we need not I think concern ourselves here about his alleged later visits to Collins for which we have only rumour to rely upon. But in his exhaustive *Annals of Hampstead*, T. A. Barratt writes of yet another place frequented by the novelist—the cottage at Telegraph Hill. So little is generally known about

Telegraph Hill from Redington Road, 1910
From a painting by R. L. Forbes at Hampstead Town Hall.

(By the courtesy of the Borough Librarian.)

this picturesque but now vanished cottage that something of it should be placed on record in *The Dickensian*.

Telegraph Hill rose at the corner of West Heath Road and Platts Lane and its site is now largely covered by "Sarum Chase" the imposing residence of Mr. Frank Salisbury, the artist. It was so called because its crown once bore a "telegraph," established by the Admiralty during the Napoleonic Wars, which could signal to Chelsea in the South and Woodcock Hill, Elstree, in the North, part of a line of communication which extended from Chelsea Hospital to Yarmouth. Later in the century a cottage appeared upon the summit of the hill, and round about the sixties it was occupied by W. R. Sculthorpe, a deputy-controller of the Post Office. Himself a talented amateur and lover of pictures, he was a personal friend of John Leech, who visited him here, as also did Dickens. Max Pemberton's *Reminiscences* refer to "a little cottage upon the hill-top on the west side, and the owner thereof possessed a wonderful collection of pictures." But, as Barratt says, either

the Telegraph Hill Cottage or "Capo di Monte," on Judge's Walk, then occupied by Magrath, Secretary of the Athenaeum, would answer the description.

Barratt's authority in the matter of Dickens's familiarity with the cottage was G. W. Potter, who, it is recorded in the "Transactions of the Hampstead Antiquarian and Historical Association," for 1901, conducted a party to visit it by permission of the then owner Mr. (later Sir) Walter Schroeder, the well-known London coroner.

Mr. Potter's *Random Recollections* (1907) contain the following passage:

> The pretty Telegraph Cottage has always been admired. A Mr. Sculthorpe, whom I knew very well, told me that he had known Hampstead for twenty years before he discovered this charming old building. He was so impressed by its situation that he secured apartments in it. Afterwards he leased the whole with its pretty garden and small stable, making it more fit for his own occupation. He held a high position in the Post Office and was possessed of ample means, and had also a house in Cambridgeshire. He used to tell how, in his early days, he and John Leech were fellow lodgers in London, and both used to practice drawing, chiefly caricature. Leech made drawing his profession; but his companion only exercised his powers for his own pleasure, except when he wanted a few extra pounds in his younger days. Then he could always obtain them by drawing a caricature of some city man who had made himself notorious. He had a great number of drawings of this sort which were sumptuously bound. His delight was to show them to his friends and certainly they were works of considerable merit, which would have procured him a high place among those who practised this style of art as a profession.
>
> Charles Dickens was a frequent visitor at Telegraph Cottage. Upon my asking Mr. Sculthorpe once if Dickens was not a man of great conversational powers, he surprised me by saying: "No! he was quiet and fond of listening to the conversation of others; but when a good story or funny remark was made he laughed immoderately." As Sculthorpe was a man full of humour, and a capital raconteur, I can understand this to some extent. These visits were made by Dickens in the sixties and not, therefore, many years before his death.

In a letter (Nonesuch, iii, p. 133) to Sculthorpe, dated November 10th, 1859, Dickens wrote:

> Dear Sir,—Judgment must go by default, I have not a word to plead against Dodson and Fogg. I am without any defence in the action; and therefore, as the law goes, ought to win it.
>
> Seriously, the date of your hospitable note disturbs my soul. But I have been incessantly writing in Kent and reading in all sorts of places, and have done nothing in my own personal character these many months; and now I come to town and our friend is away! Let me take that defaulting miscreant into council when he comes back. Faithfully yours, Charles Dickens.

The "defaulting miscreant" Dexter thinks was Edmund Yates, to whom Dickens had written, on the preceding October 18th, possibly in reference to Sculthorpe:

> I have never had the courage to write to our friend at Hampstead. Imagine that! I have been rolling over the intention of writing to him, just as his dog with the bell tumbled over the orange.

Acknowledgements are gratefully offered to Mr. Ernest F. Oppé, and to Mr. J. T. Bailey, Chief Librarian of Hampstead, for much help with reference to this note and the sketch illustrating it.

THE EDITOR.

NOTES ON *SKETCHES BY BOZ*

By T. W. Hill

Introductory

Sketches by Boz, collected in a complete edition and published serially from 1837 to 1839, were rearranged and classified by Dickens from a number of articles contributed to several periodicals during three years; the original source is prefaced to each Sketch. They present many aspects of contemporary English life and although Dickens himself said that some of the work in them is "crude" with "obvious marks of haste and inexperience," they contain some of his most proficient writing.

Many of them deal in a "thumb-nail" way with subjects and characters that were later more elaborately treated in his novels and some indications of this are included in the following notes.

Although only twenty-two to twenty-four years of age when he wrote these Sketches, Dickens had already assimilated a vast store of proverbs, popular sayings, and some literary knowledge, which he used in a natural, almost an inevitable, way that makes it an integral part of the structure of his style. He never "drags in" an allusion or forces a quotation, but uses them with an ease that more erudite scholars might envy. This characteristic was to remain with him throughout his life and is as evident in *The Mystery of Edwin Drood* as it is manifest in *Sketches by Boz*.

NOTES

Seven Sketches from Our Parish

When reading these graphic pictures, so true in detail, of social life more than a century ago, it is important to remember that the parish church and its vestry was then the centre of the local community and that the parochial officers, churchwardens, beadle, etc., had far more consequence than they now possess. They were responsible for the general welfare and government of the parish as well as for the church and its services. Local government has now lost to centralised authorities many of the public services such as education, public health, the Poor Law,* police, etc., but in the past the parishioners themselves, through their local elections, had a more personal interest in the management of their own locality.

I

(*Evening Chronicle*, February 28th, 1835)

1. from hand to mouth. A saying more than three hundred years old. It first appears in literature in Sylvester's *Du Bartas* (1605): "Living from hand to mouth, soon satisfied," and later has come to have the additional meaning of being unable to "put by for a rainy day," another proverb quite as old. It may be added that *Du Bartas, His Divine Weekes and Workes* was a translation from the French Seigneur Du Bartas's *La Semaine* and *La Seconde Semaine*, being the story of Creation.

2. order into the house. That is, into the Poor House, where she would be provided with food and shelter at the expense of the rates.

3. mr. hobler. Francis Hobler, the Lord Mayor's Clerk was an inveterate joker in court. (See *Scenes*, XVII, note 5.)

4. mahogany bracket. A facetious description of the official seat for the Beadle; it was fixed against the wall at a higher level than the pews, and sometimes had a footstool for the occupier. From this point of vantage the beadle overlooked the children.

5. his legal reward. The fee for the fire engine (a manual pump on a four-wheeled carriage) worked by the boys.

II

(*Evening Chronicle*, May 19th, 1835)

1. half despondingly with love. The devotion of some unmarried ladies to a young unmarried curate has been for years the theme of cheap

* The Poor Law was abolished and the whole system of relief reorganised by the National Assistance Act of 1947.

humour. (See also a few sentences further on, "The curate began to cough . . ."). W. S. Gilbert in *The Sorcerer* made fun on the same subject:

"Had I a headache? sighed the maids assembled;
Had I a cold? well'd forth the silent tear;
Did I look pale? then half the parish trembled;
And when I cough'd all thought the end was near . . .
Ah me! I was a pale young curate then."

2. LITTLE ROUND ANGELS' FACES. The bodiless heads of cherubs often seen in Renaissance monuments.

3. THREE MISS BROWNS. These ladies appear again in Chapter VI as Sunday school teachers.

4. HALF-BAPTISED A WASHERWOMAN'S CHILD. Half-baptism was used when the full service was not convenient, and usually resorted to in cases of emergency such as a fear of imminent death of a child, as in the present instance. Oliver Twist was half-baptised by Bumble. The contingency is provided for in the Rubric to the Baptism Service in the Book of Common Prayer. In the Westminster Abbey Register appears this entry: "1778. June 27. Rebecca, daughter of Anselm and Rebecca Bayley; born June 23rd, and half-baptized June 27. Fully baptized April 29th, 1779." In Davies's "Supplementary English Glossary" (1881) the term is said to be "also used of a person deficient in knowledge or acuteness," and it was in this sense that Sam Weller said to Mr. Pickwick: "Where wos you half-baptised?" The terms half-baked (Devonshire), half-saved and half-rocked have the same meaning. (See Halliwell's "Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words" (1855).

5. WATCH-BOX ON WHEELS. A contrivance similar to the shelter used by road-contractors and night-watchmen, the four wheels making it easily movable.

6. GOAT AND BOOTS. This is not such a ridiculous sign for an inn as it seems at first sight. There is a Goat in Boots in the Fulham Road, about which Croker has an interesting account in his *A Walk from London to Fulham* (1860).

7. BOSOM FRIENDS. An excellent name for chest-protectors.

8. ENVELOPED IN YELLOW MUSLIN. A sort of cotton gauze, known to dealers as Leno, either yellow, white or green; used formerly for covering gilt frames to prevent flies from alighting and soiling the gilt.

9. LEAVES ARE TURPENTINED AND BEES-WAXED. The leaves are those of the dining table.

10. PICTURE OF PRINCESS AND PRINCE LEOPOLD. The Princess Charlotte was the only daughter of the Prince Regent, afterwards George IV, and Heir-Presumptive to the throne. Prince Leopold was the son of the Duke of Saxe-Coburg; in his honour the Coburg Theatre, built in 1811, was named. They were married in 1816 and their portraits were as popular as those of our own Princess Elizabeth (the Heir-Presumptive to the throne) and Philip Mountbatten, Duke of Edinburgh. After the Princess died in 1817, Prince Leopold remained in England, and in 1831 became King of the Belgians. He was the "Uncle Leopold" who had so much influence with Queen Victoria.

11. POPE JOAN BOARD. This game was played with a board something like a roulette-board, a pack of cards from which the eight of diamonds had been removed, and counters. The Pope is the nine of diamonds. The game gets its name from a fabulous female Pope (Joan) who is supposed to have reigned as John VIII in the ninth century.

12. PEW-OPENER. A useful person, usually a woman and generally in reduced circumstances (like Mrs. Miff in *Dombey and Son*) in the days of box-pews with doors, but now in these days of open seats and chairs, either obsolete or replaced by a verger or sidesman.

13. NAVAL OFFICER ON HALF-PAY. He is named in Chapter IV—Captain Purday.

14. AQUA FORTIS. Latin for strong water; nitric acid. No wonder the name came off the brass door-plate; the captain should have used oxalic acid and not too much even of this.

15. TAX GATHERER. This gentleman no longer calls on the taxpayer as taxes and rates have now to be sent or taken to the collector's office.

III

(*Evening Chronicle*, June 18th, 1835)

1. THE FOUR MISS WILLISES. The first instance of Dickens's humour at the expense of single ladies over a certain age, such as Miss Witherfield (*Pickwick*), Miss Tox (*Dombey*), Miss Smallweed (*Bleak House*), Miss Wardle (*Pickwick*), to name a few. Dickens's humour was, however, good-natured in its satire and never so cruel as that of W. S. Gilbert.

2. REGISTER STOVES. These had a plate at the opening into the chimney which, in theory, could be adjusted to regulate the draught. See also Scenes XX, note 13.

3. THREE LONG GRACES IN DRAPERY. Three daughters of Zeus who embodied beauty and charm. A marble group of them in flowing drapery was a favourite ornament in Victorian homes. They were the very antithesis to the Three Fates (with another sister) with whom Dickens mixes them up; the three Fates were frightful to look upon.

4. SIAMESE TWINS. These inseparables, at that time being exhibited in England, were born in 1811 in Siam of Chinese parents. They lived till 1874 when they died within a couple of hours of each other.

5. POLAR HARMONY. Polar is figurative; at the beginning of the paragraph the household is described as formal, stiff, and cold. The word harmony is partly cynical and implies rather lack of discord than real harmony.

6. DOUBLE-MILLED KERSEY. Extra strong, very closely woven woollen material, named from its place of former manufacture, Kersey, one of the prettiest villages in Suffolk.

7. TWO GLASS COACHES. Coaches with glazed panels all round; so called in distinction from the ordinary coaches which had no windows and even had sliding wooden shutters fitted in the doors.

8. PARTICULARLY SMALL CAPS. This sentence recalls the clothes worn by newly-born babies in former times: the "long-clothes," the "roller" bandage, and the horse-shoe backed muslin cap shaped like a woman's bonnet. Fuller details will be found in *Reprinted Pieces*, "Births, Mrs. Meek, of a Son," but in much maturer and more masterly style.

9. A FAT OLD WOMAN. The prototype of such folk as Mrs. Gamp and Betsey Prig, the monthly nurses in *Martin Chuzzlewit*.

10. KNOCKER WAS TIED UP. This device was, of course, to prevent the startling effect of a rat-a-tat, but it also advertised the happy event to the neighbourhood. A white kid glove on the knocker signified that a birth was expected. In *Nicholas Nickleby* Mr. Kenwigs invested in a pair of the cheapest white kid gloves—those at fourteen-pence!

IV

(*Evening Chronicle*, July 14th, 1835)

1. ELECTION FOR BEADLE. A striking attack on municipal administration, all the more telling for its being so true and for its humour.

2. WATCHING RATES. The rate levied for the upkeep of the watchmen who were later superseded by the police. All the rates here enumerated are now consolidated with the General Rate.

3. PARISHIONERS IN VESTRY ASSEMBLED. Such meetings are things of the past since the passing of the Municipal Reform Act of 1835.

4. VISITING COMMITTEE. These inquisitorial bodies came under Dickens's lash when later he created, in *Bleak House*, Mrs. Pardiggle and her brood of children, who so incensed the labourers at the brick-field.

5. PAUPERS' SOUP. Always the butt of popular ridicule—and indignation. This is further elaborated in *Oliver Twist*.

6. ADJOURN TO THE CHURCH. This was the usual practice if the vestry would not accommodate the numbers; there was, indeed, a scarcity of halls, etc., and the church was the only building that would hold any considerable number.

7. HIGH-LOWS. Boots is now the accepted description; high-lows did not come so far up the leg as top-boots nor were they so low-cut as shoes. The term high-low remained in popular use till nearly the end of the nineteenth century.

8. ENVY AND HATRED . . . From the Litany; the full petition runs: "From all blindness of heart; from pride, vain-glory, and hypocrisy; from envy, hatred, and malice, and all uncharitableness."

V

(*Evening Chronicle*, July 28th, 1835)

1. THREE AND SIXPENCE A DAY. Such was the standard of wages at the time.

2. LONESOME AS A KITTEN . . . This seems to be the germ from which the amusing "Wellerisms" of the future were to grow.

3. CHEAP COWCUMBER. The old Cockney rendering of cucumber; it was also used by Betsey Prig in *Martin Chuzzlewit*. An old lady of the writer's acquaintance, to be a little more correct, compromised with cooc'mber.

4. GEORGE YARD. "Little, dirty court at the back of the gas-works." The name of the yard is not important; it might be anywhere and is probably fictitious, but the mention of the gas-works recalls that gas-lighting was tentatively introduced in 1805. The Gas Light and Coke Company was established in 1810 and thereafter the use of gas spread rapidly and when *Sketches by Boz* was being written in 1835 the blight surrounding gas works was already evident.

5. DISTRESS FOR HALF A YEAR'S RENT. £5 a year for a house with two rooms is an indication of the poverty and slumminess of the neighbourhood.

6. LITTLE PIECE OF ENCLOSED DUST. Compare this with the description of Barnard's Inn in *Great Expectations*: "A frowzy mourning of soot and smoke . . . strewed ashes upon its head . . . a mere dust-hole."

7. THEIR THINGS HAD BEEN SEIZED TOO. A later instance of this is to be be found in *David Copperfield* where Traddles's precious flower-pot and marble-topped table were seized for Micawber's debt.

8. ALL IN THE HOUSE TO THIS DAY. That is, of course, the poor-house.

VI

(*Evening Chronicle*, August 20th, 1835)

1. CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS. For a fuller account of these parochial activities see *Bleak House*, Chapter VIII, enumerating the interests of Mrs. Pardiggle and the organisations which appealed to Mr. Jarndyce for subscriptions, and to Mr. Beffin in *Our Mutual Friend*, I, 17.

2. A LITTLE LEARNING IS A DANGEROUS THING. A quotation from Pope's *Essay on Criticism*.

3. RUSTLING OF LEAVES. Due to the fact that during the Service the Psalms, the two lessons, the Collect for the day, the Litany, and the Communion Service had to be found in different parts of the Prayer Book and the Bible.

4. CAUDLE. A hot drink for invalids (and others) usually taken just before or after getting into bed. Douglas Jerrold's *Mrs. Caudle's Curtain Lectures* is the book by which he is best remembered; it appeared originally in *Punch* in 1846.

5. FORMS WERE PLACED. A vivid account of what, in the writer's recollection, happened in a village school on the occasion of a visit from H.M.I. (His Majesty's Inspector).

6. EXETER HALL. Erected in the Strand in 1831 for concerts, entertainments, undenominational religious meetings, and especially remembered for the May Meetings, etc. It was pulled down in 1907 and the Strand Palace Hotel now covers the site.

7. HE QUOTED LATIN. "A decided hit" indeed. Formerly an oration was not considered complete unless it contained several quotations from classic latin. The educated portion of the audience applauded the aptness of the quotations; the less well-educated portion might not understand but applauded all the same and tried to look as intelligent as possible.

VII

(Originally entitled "Our Next-door Neighbours," this Sketch was specially written for the Second Series, 1837.)

1. STREET DOOR-KNOCKERS. This little introductory essay is the first instance of a style of writing in which Dickens excelled. Interesting examples, each a masterpiece in its way, will be found in "Somebody's Luggage" on waiters, and in "The Holly Tree Inn" on inns.

2. EATON SQUARE THEN JUST BUILDING. Cubitt, the great builder of much of London, began Eaton Square in 1827 so that it was quite new when Dickens was writing.

3. NEW NARROW FLOOR-CLOTH. This might have been included in the previous note. Another exposition on newness will be found in the introduction of the "bran-new" Veneerings in *Our Mutual Friend*.

4. PEMBROKE TABLE. A table with hinged leaves or flaps that can be folded; when raised the leaves are supported on supplementary legs that fold in close. It must have been very fashionable as Dickens makes several allusions to it (see Scenes XXI). It is said to have been named from an Earl of Pembroke in the eighteenth century.

5. WHISKEY-AND-WATER. Whiskey is an approximate pronunciation of the first part of the gaelic words *uisge beatha*, meaning water of life; the modern word is "usquebaugh." It was not in the early part of the nineteenth century so commonly drunk as gin, brandy, and rum.

6. PRACTICAL JEST. A joke or jest becomes practical when it is not verbal and is concerned with action. The only sound associated with it is the ill-mannered guffaw with which it is greeted by all except the victim.

7. TALL THIN YOUNG GENTLEMAN. A characteristic portrait of a certain type that appeared later in the *Pickwick Papers* as Mr. Smangle and in *Martin Chuzzlewit* as Montague Tigg before he changed his name.

8. BEACON OF HER WORST DISEASE. A foretaste of Dickens's aptitude at describing symptoms of illness that became more manifest in his later work; e.g. Smike, Mrs. Skewton, Mrs. Gargery, Betty Higden, etc.

* * * * *

SCENES

I—THE STREETS. MORNING
(*Evening Chronicle*, July 21st, 1835)

1. OCCASIONAL POLICEMAN. The Police, as we know them, were established in 1829, superseding the old system of watchmen, and at first there were not a great number of them, hence the word occasional. Even nowadays there are many villages with only one constable. In *Pickwick Papers* there was at a big town like Ipswich only one regular policeman who was assisted at times by special constables.

2. WATER-BUTT. Such an object in a town area has by now disappeared as modern sanitation provides for a proper drain for "surface water." A water-butt is again mentioned in Scenes III.

3. RUSHLIGHT. A metal dish in which stood a metal cylinder within which was a candle with a wick made of the pith of a rush. A specimen is preserved at the Dickens House.

4. EARLY PUBLIC-HOUSES. It used to be possible to obtain alcoholic refreshment as early as 5 o'clock and on market-days at 4. Public-houses remained open till midnight. Successive Acts of Parliament, especially during the last thirty or forty years, have reduced the licensed hours.

5. DINNER TIED UP IN A HANDKERCHIEF. The handkerchief was usually a coloured bandanna, and the dinner was often accompanied by a tin bottle of liquor, generally cold tea.

6. LITTLE SWEEP. Parliament tried by passing Acts in 1840 and in 1864 to stop this brutal practice, but it was not till 1875 that an Act at last cured the evil. Readers of Charles Kingsley will remember that a boy chimney-sweep was the "hero" of *The Water Babies* (1863).

7. COVENT GARDEN MARKET. This market exercised a sort of fascination over Dickens, and he constantly referred to it, and with much detail in *Little Dorrit* and *The Old Curiosity Shop*. No two of these accounts are quite alike and when read all together give a very graphic idea of what the market was like in his time.

8. HUMMUMS. Hammam is the Turkish word for a sweating-room or what we should call a Turkish bath. There was such a room at this hotel in Covent Garden. Pip stayed here in *Great Expectations*; it was demolished in 1865.

9. USUAL CROWD OF JEWS, ETC. The hawkers and other street merchants, together with newsboys, who used to congregate at coaching inns also find mention in *Nicholas Nickleby*, *Pickwick* and *Great Expectations*.

10. SOMERS AND CAMDEN TOWNS. These districts, long since absorbed into the spreading metropolis, were at that time sufficiently remote to be considered comfortable residences for clerical and other workers who nowadays, with improved facilities for transport, seek more distant homes. See also Scenes IX.

11.—STALE TARTS. A reminiscence of Dickens's own boyhood when he was employed at Warren's Blacking Warehouse: "I could not resist the stale pastry put out at half-price on trays at the confectioners' doors in Tottenham Court Road; and I often spent in that the money I should have kept for my dinner." (*David Copperfield*, Chapter XI).

12. SEVEN SHILLINGS A WEEK. This was Dickens's own wage as a boy.

13. STAY-MAKERS' APPRENTICES. See also Kate Nickleby's experiences at Madam Mantalini's, in Notes to Chapter X of *Nicholas Nickleby*.

14. NOON. It is worth while to look back over the exact chronology of the Sketch: it opens "before sunrise" about 3-30 a.m.; "an hour wears away," say 4-30 and Covent Garden begins to shew activity; "another hour passes away" and the Missis's bell is "ringing for half-an-hour" for the "servant of all work . . . it's half past six"; by the time the "early coach starts" it is 7 a.m. and in "half-an-hour" more the lazy apprentice "is sweeping out the shop" and by 9 o'clock the "early clerk population" is arriving at the offices; by 11 o'clock "saddle-horses are conveying their masters to the destinations"; and NOON closes the survey.

II—THE STREETS AT NIGHT
(*Bell's Life*, January 18th, 1836)

1. DINNERS SALUTE THE NOSTRILS. In the story of the Goblins who stole the Sexton in *Pickwick Papers* Gabriel Grub, on his way to the churchyard, "smelt the numerous savoury odours . . . as they steamed up from the kitchen windows in clouds."

2. "MUFFINS." The days are passed when the man, with his little bell tinkling, paraded the streets about 4 o'clock in the afternoon, with a wooden tray balanced on his head and containing crumpets and muffins hot from the oven kept snugly warm under a swathing of green baize.

3. NINE O'CLOCK BEER. In many districts a boy was sent round the streets at supper-time with pint measures of beer suspended from a long pole like a broomstick.

4. YESTERDAY'S 'TIZER. The *Morning Advertiser*, established 1794, has always been the organ of the Licensed Victuallers.

5. TAPROOM FIRE. The Taproom gets its name from the taps of the beer-barrels that formerly stood round its walls; the liquor was therefore "on tap" and could be consumed in the same apartment. Nowadays it is the room adjoining the "bar."

6. MARSH GATE. Lambeth Marsh extended from Lambeth Church to Blackfriars and in the early nineteenth century consisted of open fields (often flooded at high tide), with broad deep ditches, a few causeways with some scattered cottages and gardens. Later the name was restricted to the part between Waterloo and Westminster bridges. The marsh was gradually drained by the formation of the great roads from Blackfriars, Waterloo and Westminster bridges and the construction of Waterloo railway station: Marsh Gate was that part close to Waterloo Bridge, and the mention of Victoria Theatre in the text may signify that "gate" means only the approach to the Marsh, or even the toll-gate at the south end of the bridge (which was freed from toll in 1877).

7. BLOCK TIN TEMPLE. The modern tall tin chest-of-drawers over a coke fire and surmounted by a flimsy piece of tin decoration is a poor substitute for the glories of the highly ornamented "tin temple" of which Dickens writes.

8. KIDNEY-PIE STAND. A good illustration of the pie-stand with its two divisions, each with a lid, can be seen in Seymour's picture of Mr. Pickwick's first adventure.

9. WEEKLY DORSET. Butter from Dorset, commonly called by Cockneys "Dossett," was in special request and usually arrived fresh in London once a week; the fuller the tub the fresher the butter. Mr. Tuggs, in Tales IV, kept it in stock.

10. CLOUDY ROLLS OF "BEST FRESH." The cloudiness arose from the appearance of the cylinders of butter being wrapped in "butter-muslin."

11. COME THE DOUBLE MONKEY. This expression has not been traced. It may possibly be taken from the children's toy the monkey-on-a-stick, in which the monkey is made to go over the top of the stick and stand upside down. "A double monkey" would thus be a double somersault, always an effective stage trick.

12. NEARLY ELEVEN O'CLOCK. There was no limit to the hours during which a shop might be kept open, and Dickens has very many references throughout his writings to the late hours.

13. CLICKING OF PATTENS. These iron rings attached to the boots raised the wearer out of mud or water and clicked on the flagstones. Modern cleaner conditions have nearly caused their disappearance, but they linger in parts of the Midlands and Northern counties. Dickens has numerous references to them, sometimes with humorous effect as in the *Cricket on the Hearth*, where Dot leaves "rough impressions of the first proposition in Euclid all about the yard."

14. QUARTERNS OF SUGAR. The quartern here is a quarter of a pound (four ounces), for folk who had to make their purchases in small quantities.

15. LARGE BRASS PLATES ON THEIR BREASTS. The licence-badges that had to be worn by the men who "watered" the horses on the coach stands.

16. PIPES AND PURL. Purl is a mixture of warmed beer "laced" with gin and flavoured with a little nutmeg or other spices. It was at one time very popular and met with the approval of Dick Swiveller who sang of "purl on the bank" of a river.

17. HARMONIC MEETING. At one o'clock in the morning! The "sing-sing" concert held in the upstairs room of a public house; it developed later into the Music Hall. A good example is found in *Bleak House* at the Sol's Arms, where Little Swills was the vocalist.

18. MY 'ART'S IN THE HIGHLANDS. A song by Robert Burns (1759-1796) who borrowed from "The strong walls of Dovey," the author of which is unknown. The tune is found in Fraser's *Airs of the Scottish Highlands* (1816).

17. THE BRAVE OLD HOAK. A once favourite song, words by H. F. Chorley (1808-1872), music by E. J. Loder.

18. FLY, FLY FROM THE WORLD. A song by Thomas Moore. Here is the first verse:

"Fly from the world, O Bessy, to me,
Thou wilt never find any sincerer;
I'll give up the world, O Bessy, for thee,
I can never meet any that's dearer."

19. KNOCKING GLASSES OFF THEIR LEGS. Before tumblers ousted them the glasses had stems often with a bulge half-way up. They are described in *Pickwick Papers* as "great dropsical bloated articles each supported on a huge gouty leg." (Chapter XXXII.)

III—SHOPS AND THEIR TENANTS
(Specially written for First Collected Edition, 1836)

1. AGREE WITH STERNE. An extended quotation from the *Sentimental Journey* is worth giving: "I pity the man who can travel from Dan to Beersheba and say, 'Tis all barren;—and so it is and so is all the world to him who will not cultivate the fruits it offers. I declare, said I, clapping my hands cheerily together, that was I in a desert, I would find out wherewith in it to call forth my affections.' The learned Smelfungus travelled from Boulogne to Paris—from Paris to Rome—and so on, but he set out with the spleen and jaundice, and every object he pass'd by was discoloured and distorted." (In the Street: Calais.)

2. DIGNITY OF WHISKERS. The cultivation of a plentiful crop of whiskers on the cheeks was just coming into fashion, although the upper lip and the chin were shaven. So great was the admiration excited in the opposite sex by carefully tended whiskers that an extract may be interesting from *St. Olave's*, a novel by Eliza Tabor, written in 1865: "Unexceptionable as was Mr. Scrymgeour's [a curate] face, his glory resided without question in the hirsute appendages which decorated the lower portion of it. These certainly were very beautiful . . . they were of a little lighter shade than the rest of his hair, and descended in a soft, waving, glossy cataract of at least six inches perpendicular fall on each side of the well-formed, though somewhat diminutive chin. Those whiskers were fascinating; they were more, they were irresistible, at least to anyone of ordinary human susceptibilities. They had been the envy of half his fellow-students at College, and had hopelessly entangled in their golden meshes of, we are afraid to say how many forlorn maidens . . . Surely the upper stories of the brain needed but little furniture when the basement was so sumptuously adorned." It will be remembered

that, in *Martin Chuzzlewit*, Mrs. Spottletoe said that her husband's whiskers were the lodestar of her existence.

[*Note.*—If the whiskers surrounding an otherwise clean-shaven face met under the chin they were known to the ribald as a Newgate frill.]

IV—Scotland Yard

(*Morning Chronicle*, October 4th,
Evening Chronicle, October 5th, 1836)

1. SCOTLAND YARD. This is a not overdrawn picture of the spot as Dickens knew it when a youth. The palace of the Scottish kings from which it took its name had been dismantled soon after 1701 when the two kingdoms were united, and part of it was Government offices, and here was held the Court of the Marshalsea. In 1829 the newly-founded Metropolitan Police Force established their headquarters at Whitehall Place adjoining; hence the familiar name of "The Yard." The rest of the area to the riverside where there was a wharf was as here described. It should be added that when the Police removed to Cannon Row in 1891 they took the name with them and called their new abode "New Scotland Yard" to perpetuate the association.

2. OLD PUBLIC HOUSE. There were several coffee-houses (public house is only a modern version of the same thing) and among them were Well's, Man's, and the Royal.

3. BARCLAY'S BEST. A reference, of course, to Barclay and Perkins dating from the middle of the eighteenth century.

4. PATENT SHOT MANUFACTORY WASN'T BUILT. Therefore before 1789 when the familiar shot-tower, 140 feet high, was erected.

5. THREATENED TO PULL DOWN LONDON BRIDGE. Dickens, as a young man, must have heard the gossip on the subject and the story in this and the following paragraphs is not an unfair reproduction of the popular view.

4. IT WAS DONE BY A DUKE. This is a slip; actually the first stone of the new London Bridge was laid in 1825 by the Lord Mayor (John Garratt), although the King's brother, the Duke of York, was present.

5. STEP OVER TO PEDLAR'S ACRE. The district, about one acre in extent, by the riverside north of Westminster Bridge. It was, so said a fifteenth century tradition, bequeathed to the parish of Lambeth by a pedlar who stipulated that he and his dog should be commemorated in a stained-glass window in the parish church. Whether the tradition be true or not, the window is there. In 1911 the London County Council purchased the ground and erected upon it the County Hall.

6. NEW MARKET SPRUNG UP AT HUNGERFORD. The old Hungerford Market, established in 1680, was closed in 1815, and in 1831 was rebuilt; this disappeared when Charing Cross station was built on the site in 1862.

7. POLICE COMMISSIONERS . . . AT WHITEHALL PLACE. See note 1.

8. FRESH MEMBERS WERE ADDED. In 1800 after the Act of Union, Ireland sent 100 members to Parliament, making the total number 658—England 513, Scotland 45, and Ireland 100.

9. POET'S ART. In Jacob Larwood's *History of Sign-boards* (1866) may be found numerous examples of the "poet's art" in this connexion (mostly doggerel).

10. WHEREABOUTS OF SCOTLAND YARD. Dickens's prediction has not so far been fulfilled. In spite of modern alterations, Great Scotland Yard still exists, and it may be hoped will long remain to call up memories of the scene so graphically described in this Sketch by Boz.

(*To be continued.*)

NOTES TO *OLIVER TWIST*

On page 148 of the last issue there is a note on Antimonial, in which I have given to Mr. Bumble an amount of learning that even his pompous manner does not deserve.

Dr. A. G. M. Severn, Medical Officer of Health to Pontypridd, South Wales, suggests that "Antimonial," following Bumble's use of the word "sickening," probably refers to Tartar-emetic (Antimonium Tartaratum), known also as Antimonial Wine, a supply of which was usually kept in every workhouse dispensary in the early nineteenth century.

FROM RECENT BOOKS

By Louis B. Frewer, M.A.
(Bodleian Library)

GAIETY THEATRE

" His (John Hollingshead's) youth greatly resembles the youth of Charles Dickens—and he and Dickens were friends. He was quite familiar with the inside of a Debtors' Prison for his father, like the father of Dickens, was imprisoned for debt—not in the Marshalsea but the Queen's Bench . . .

" Encouraged by Moy Thomas, already a contributor to *Household Words*, edited by Dickens, he (Hollingshead) tried the same line. He succeeded. Dickens liked his first contribution. He persevered and, later, got on the front page . . . Dickens made a friend of him, and he met all the celebrities. He wrote [a play]. It was ' The Birthplace of Podgers '. He asked Dickens to send it to Buckstone at the Haymarket, but Dickens demurred. Hollingshead had, however, met a young actor called J. L. Toole, to whom he took the play. Toole liked it and got it produced at his next benefit, at the Lyceum in 1858. It was a great success. Toole used it as a stock piece for the rest of his life. It launched Hollingshead on his course to the Gaiety, where J. L. Toole was later to be a Gaiety star himself. Dickens, who had not believed in Hollingshead's talent as a dramatist, paid to go into the pit on the first night and sent letters of congratulation . . . Among the papers for which he worked were *Household Words* and *All the Year Round*, to which he had gone with Dickens. It was for *Household Words* that he reported the great and now almost legendary fight between Sayers and Heenan . . .

" . . . the Gaiety Theatre was opened at last . . . Dickens wrote the following letter, dated from Garrick's Royal Hotel, Glasgow, on 15th December, 1868 :

> My dear Hollingshead,
>
> I send you many thanks for your kind remembrance of me, but as I do not leave Scotland until Sunday morning, and have to make a visit on my way home, I cannot be in town in sufficient time to accept the box you place at my disposal. I hasten therefore to return it.
>
> With all good wishes,
> Believe me, faithfully yours,
> Charles Dickens.

" But Charles Dickens Junior was there to represent the family. Dickens himself was on one of his famous ' reading ' tours.

" A great many of the so-called dramatists were just hacks, and devoted much of their time to adapting the works of Charles Dickens to the stage as soon as these works saw the light. There was no ' by your leave ' ; it was just plain piracy, made possible by the lack of copyright protection.

" Sam Emery has been mentioned before, but now he takes the Gaiety stage in earnest . . . He had played Jonas Chuzzlewit in the stage version of Dickens's *Martin Chuzzlewit*, Will Fern in an adaptation of *The Chimes*, and John Peerybingle in *The Cricket on the Hearth*. He was the Dickensian actor par excellence. His Dan'l Peggotty was a joy in Halliday's play founded on *David Copperfield*, but his greatest stage creation was Cap'n Cuttle in *Dombey and Son*. Here was that delightful creature in the flesh. Here he was, as Dickens had conceived him and Phiz drawn him, hook and all. Emery played the simplicity, the bluffness, the sincerity and the pathos of the character as if he had been the very man.

" ' Illustrated Journal of Literature, Art, Satire and Society ' . . . was little more than a house magazine for boosting the Gaiety . . . and it had remarks on the rumour that Dickens was to be made a Peer—with ' extracts ' from the American Press, which sneered, and suggested titles like Baron Boz or Lord Gadshill.

" Another great personage came to see this play, and that was Charles Dickens. In doing so, he paid his only visit to the Gaiety—it will be remembered that he was unable to be present at the first night. He did not come to the first night of ' Uncle Dick's Darling,' but during the run. Hollingshead accorded him all the honours of Royalty, by receiving him himself and conducting him to the Royal Box. He saw to it, too, that there were flowers in the Royal Room, some good cigars, and some excellent brandy—all of which were supplied when Royalty came. Dickens appreciated these compliments from the journalist who had worked for him, and who was now the manager of a most successful theatre. The great novelist, perhaps, remembered how he had refused to help over Hollingshead's play, and how Toole had taken up and produced it with terrific success, and how he had gone into the pit to see it. Yet now he was in the Royal Box, Hollingshead was monarch of all he surveyed, and Toole was the bright particular star of the theatre.

" Dickens was a great friend and warm admirer of Toole. But that evening he saw Henry Irving for the first time. It was for the last time, too, for that visit to the Gaiety was the last Dickens ever paid to a theatre. He enjoyed the show, but did not go into superlatives about Irving. He said he was very good and that the part he played, Mr. Chevenix, had doubtless been founded on Mr. Dombey. Dickens died in the following June, and Hollingshead and the whole nation mourned him.

" The Christmas fare at the Gaiety in 1870 was of the richest variety. They staged a comic ballet called ' Tartuffe,' a drama, a Christmas story, based on Dickens' *Cricket on the Hearth* and adapted by Dion Boucicault, and a brand new opera bouffe entitled

'Aladdin II.' There was some sort of a prologue to the Dickens play in which Oberon and Titania got mixed up and of which the critics fell foul, but they approved Toole's performance of Caleb Plummer. He was said to give the perfect Dickensian performance, and there is no doubt that he did, for he himself might have stepped out of a page of Dickens. John Maclean was good as Peerybingle, as was J. D. Stoyle as Tackleton. H. Vaughan as Ned Plummer was new to the Gaiety . . . Marie Dalton, making a Gaiety *début* as the blind girl, got full marks, as did Carlotta Addison for her Dot . . . Miss E. Farren, as Tilly Slowboy, was rather more energetic than the Tilly Slowboy of the story, but her acting and appearance were wonderfully effective.

"There was a Royal Dramatic College then which needed to implement its Funds. Hollingshead did not agree with it, or its objects, but he gave it a matinée—the first of all his matinées. And a magnificent entertainment he put up. It started (on Tuesday, 24th January, 1871) with *Bardell v. Pickwick*, prepared by Hollingshead himself from Dickens's own Special Reading copy. It had Toole as Sergeant Buzfuz and Nellie Farren as Sam Weller, supported by members of the Gaiety Company.

"Toole came back again with the Gaiety company. He played first of all 'Good News' and 'Ali Baba,' and on Boxing Day a version of Dickens's *Chimes*, called 'Trotty Veck,' with himself and Mrs. Charles Calvert in the leads.

"The year 1874 opened . . . with Dickens's *The Battle of Life*, adapted by his son."—"Gaiety," by W. Macqueen-Pope. (Allen.)

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UNITED STATES LEGATION SECRETARY

"Last evening I dined at the famous 'Angel' at Islington once a great posting house and the first halting place of the stages going North from London. Dickens mentions it in his *Holly Tree Inn*, but it has sadly degenerated since then (*Saturday*, 26*th September*, 1857).

"Got up early and went with Thornton Hunt to Hampton Court. We took rail to Richmond and walked thro' Twickenham . . . Of course we chatted about everything and everybody. We took lunch at the Mitre, during which Hunt told me Dickens had libelled his *own* father in the character of Micawber and his father as [blank] in *Bleak House*. A correspondence took place between Dickens and Leigh Hunt on this and Dickens got out of it by saying (or writing) that the borrowing [? borrowed] features of the character were those of another man's character and that all he took from Hunt were his want of business tact and the song. Since then Dickens has been wonderfully attentive to Leigh Hunt (*Sunday*, 1*7th January*, 1858).

"I went to Edwards' Hotel, Hanover Square, at 7 o'clock last evening to meet McHenry, Train, Mrs. Train and Miss Gardner to go and hear Charles Dickens read his *Christmas Carol*. Mrs. Train was not well and did not go. The entertainment was at St. Martin's Hall, Longacre, one of the worst contrived barns in the world for a public exhibition. The entrance is long, crooked, narrow, and every way irregular. It is composed of corridors, galleries, staircases and short angles, being altogether a tortuous funnel admirably designed to prevent egress in case of danger. We got into the hall after a ten minutes' struggle, and at a few minutes past eight o'clock Mr. Dickens entered to read to a large and fashionable audience. His voice was husky, altho' his enunciation was distinct. As a performance however his reading was very defective. He imitated the old man very well, but there [was] an absence of naturalness quite painful. Sheridan Knowles, who was present, and near me, regarded the feat as very arduous and well executed. The truth is, Mr. Dickens reads tolerably and that is all.

"It was the first time I ever saw this celebrity, and altogether the impression was favorable. That is, I was not so much inclined to kick him after seeing him as I was before. Not because of his size, but because of the presence in him of an evident insincerity of character. He is about 5 feet 10 inches high, rather compactly made, has a genteel figure, a pretty hand, a fine broad white forehead, dark hair and a marked face. He wears a moustache and his beard on his chin after the American fashion, leaving the sides of the face and the jaws shaved. He was in an ordinary evening dress, and his waistcoat, cravat and shirt were of a whiteness Beau Brummell would have envied. I never could like him. One of those men who never adhere long to a friend, or have friends long adhere to them. You would distrust him, and my feeling against him is of contempt (*Friday*, 16*th April*, 1858).

"Hurlbut [Hurlburt] . . . tells me that Dickens has separated from his wife after 25 years of married life, and that C. Dickens, Jr. is to take charge of his mother's house while the daughters are to live with their father. Dickens sent for Thackeray some days ago rather angrily and accused him of circulating a slander; but Thackeray disabused him and then Dickens told him what had been done. Rumour says this great novelist of the domestic hearth ran away with an actress; and his separation from his wife, altho' it does not prove this story, does show that he really was not happy at home, altho' he wrote so well about that kind of thing (*Saturday*, 12*th June*, 1858).

"I was careless last night and went to the City, where I met McDermott, at Mr. Mackenzie's. We had some talk about almost everything, and I learned that he would go to our 4th July dinner. He told me that the real cause of Dickens' family troubles was not incompatibility of temper, but that when Dickens married his wife was his *equal*, but as she failed to rise in public estimation with him, he has for some time treated her harshly, and that led to the separation. This is probably true. Sterne and Thomson did the same thing, and why not Dickens? It is very English. She was a Miss Hogarth, a Strand bookseller's daughter: and the connection is footy now! (*Tuesday*, 15*th June*, 1858).

" Not having much to do, I have been reading Dickens' last Christmas stories : ' A House to Let.' They are varied as usual, and one, The Manchester Marriage, is *good* ! (*Thursday*, 9*th December*, 1858).

" An excessive fop by the name of Evans was here this morning and informed us he had come over to invite Charles Dickens to the U.S. to give his Readings. It will be the maddest thing Dickens can do if he goes (*Thursday*, 27*th January*, 1859).

" Within a few days I have read Dickens' Christmas *brochure*, ' The Haunted House,' but it is not much. I was told on Sunday night by Alice Bird that the story of Stella is by Mrs. Gaskell, that of Mr. Brewer by A. G. Sala, that of the Railway Dream by Wilkie Collins, and the Catholic Poem by Miss Procter, who has lately turned Catholic. The other authors I have forgotten except Dickens, who wrote the Introduction and the final story (*Wednesday*, 22*nd December*, 1859).

" Last evening I was at a party at Mr. Benzon's in Kensington Palace Gardens . . . and there fell in among Charles Dickens, Wilkie Collins, and other famous literary men. I . . . went to the Drawing Room. There I met Edward Yates, Louis Blanc, E. M. Ward (the artist), Mr. Adams, Mr. Morse and many ladies and gentlemen besides. Neither Dickens nor Collins joined the general company, which seemed to me a piece of snobbishness (*Wednesday*, 18*th May*, 1864)."—" The Journal of Benjamin Moran," ed. by S. A. Wallace and F. E. Gillespie. 2 vols. (University of Chicago Press.).

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DICKENS AT THE WINTER GARDEN

" . . . Mr. Boucicault had secured a strong company . . . The opening piece was an adaptation of Dickens's *Cricket on the Hearth*, and called ' Dot.' It was a hit. The cast was as follows :

John Peerybingle	Mr. Harry Pearson
Caleb Plummer	Mr. Joseph Jefferson
The Stranger	Mr. A. H. Davenport
Tackleton	Mr. T. B. Johnson
Dot	Miss Agnes Robertson
May Fielding	Mrs. J. H. Allen
Bertha	Miss Sara Stevens
Tillie Slowboy	Mrs. John Wood
Mrs. Fielding	Mrs. Blake

" The four ladies first named were the pictures of female grace and beauty. This season I acted Newman Noggs, Caleb Plummer, Salem Scudder, and several other characters but the latter were not very important.

" Previous to the commencement of the season, Mr. Boucicault and I had some conversation in relation to the opening bill. I told him I was rather apprehensive of my hitting the part of Caleb Plummer, as I had never acted a character requiring pathos, and, with the exception of the love scene in ' Our American Cousin,' as yet had not spoken a serious line upon the stage. He seemed to have more confidence in my powers than I had, and insisted that I could act the part with success. I agreed therefore to open in Caleb, with the understanding that I should finish the performance with a farce, so in the event of my failing in the first piece, I might save my reputation in the last. He assented to the arrangement, but warned me, however, that I would regret it ; and he was right, for when the curtain fell upon ' Dot,' I should have much preferred not to have acted in the farce. So the little piece was taken off after the first night, as I was quite satisfied with Caleb alone."—" Rip Van Winkle : the Autobiography of Joseph Jefferson." (Reinhardt and Evans.)

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PLACE-NAMES

" Pickwick did not get its name from *The Pickwick Papers*, but rather the other way round. The first syllable was originally ' peak,' and so we have a picture of a dairy-farm on a ' peak '—but not the kind of peak one climbs in the Alps. This was rather a high hill . . .

" Dickens had such an ear for names that we can only assume he never heard of Chignall Smealey, else he would certainly have bestowed it on one of his oilier characters (' Smealey ' —' Yes, certainly, Mr. Copperfield ').

" Blundeston must be mentioned as the tun of Blund, which was a nickname meaning ' sleepy head.' ' Sleepy-Head's Farm '—what would David Copperfield have made of that as he sat patiently in ' Blunderstone ' church wondering, as the sermon droned on and on, whether the sundial were glad to see the sun reappear each morning ? And was Dickens aware of the meaning of ' Blund ' when he turned the name into ' Blunderstone,' for if a blunderer has one supreme fault it is surely his mental sleepiness ?

" Westward Ho ! is probably the only town in England named after a novel, but there have been numerous attempts to capitalise the attention which a book has brought on a house or building. London's ' Old Curiosity Shop ' in Lincoln's Inn Fields was a flagrant example ; for it was stated on good authority that this was *not* the place which Dickens had in mind when writing the story.

" A place which might proceed on far safer grounds is Pickwick, just outside Bath, for though it is not stated that this was the name-town of Mr. Pickwick there seems to be no evidence that it was not. What evidence there is, in fact, seems to lean rather the other way, for we are told that Dickens took the name from that of a carrier or coach proprietor whose vehicle he passed on the road outside Bath, and it is more than possible that the village was the name-place of the carrier or his progenitors. Whatever the source, Dickens

certainly established the name forever in its niche among the ' peak ' names."—" English Place-Names," by H. G. Stokes. (Batsford.)

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A FAMOUS DICKENS LIBRARY

" In 1920 the Press devoted a good deal of space to the great Dickens collection which had belonged to my cousin, Ralph Tennyson Jupp, and which was then being offered for sale by Messrs. Henry Sotheran & Co., the well-known booksellers. Sotherans had prepared an admirable, illustrated catalogue of the collection; a catalogue which is now in itself a choice and much-sought Dickens item, and it was hoped that the collection would be purchased *en bloc* and would remain in this country. The price asked was not a high one, certainly not an exorbitant one for what was then one of the best-known Dickens collections in the world. But 5,000 guineas was apparently too much for British libraries or collectors to pay and so the collection was withdrawn and was sent across the Atlantic to the Anderson Galleries in New York, where, in February, 1922, it was sold for $32,308, or well over £2,000 more than was asked for it in London. This, from the family's point of view, may not be regarded as unsatisfactory perhaps; but R. T. Jupp had spent a great deal of time and money on his collection and had intended to found a permanent Dickens Library and Museum in London, all the profits to be devoted to St. Dunstan's, for the benefit of the blind: thus to serve two causes which he had much at heart. Unfortunately for these objects he did not live to carry out his projects." [Here follows a more detailed description of the Jupp Collection.]—" From Bricks to Books," by G. H. Bushnell. (Grafton.)

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STRINDBERG

" Little wonder, even if Sue and Dickens added their literary suggestions, that the frequent metropolitan scenes in August Strindberg's plays and novels have a nightmare-like quality, relieved by little of the humour and none of the geniality of *Little Dorrit* or *The Old Curiosity Shop*.

" . . . by 1872, or only a very little later, Strindberg certainly had acquired a considerable knowledge of Shakespeare, Goethe, Schiller, Victor Hugo, George Sand, Eugéne Sue, Ibsen, Bjornson, Dickens and contemporary American humorists . . .

" ' Advent ' . . . Strindberg appears to have planned as a fairy-tale play for children, under the influence of Dickens's Christmas stories and of Hans Anderson

" ' The Black Glove ' . . . reverts to the Dickensian Christmas themes of Strindberg's youth and middle age.

" Strindberg's prose style carries it [' The Red Room '] along; it is nervous, flexible, and expressive, often picturesque, but not precious, in its selection of images and in its personifications of inanimate matter. The Dickens influence, in characterisation, subject-matter, and style must be acknowledged. Strindberg borrows Dickens's tricks of grotesque portraiture, but not so much directly as *via* Dickens's American imitators, Mark Twain and others, whom he admired indeed too much. From Dickens came the inspiration to write social satire, yet Strindberg remains more personal, and even, paradoxically enough, lyrical, in his attacks."—" Strindberg," by B. M. E. Mortensen and B. W. Downs. (Cambridge University Press.)

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JANE CARLYLE

" Dickens and Forster above all exerted themselves till the perspiration was pouring down and they seemed *drunk* with their efforts! Only think of that excellent Dickens playing the conjuror for one whole hour—the best conjuror I ever saw—(and I have paid money to see several)—and Forster acting as his servant. This part of the entertainment concluded with a plum pudding made out of raw flour, raw eggs—all the usual raw ingredients—boiled in a gentleman's hat—and tumbled out reeking—all in one minute before the eyes of the astonished children and astonished grown people! That trick—and his other of changing ladies' pocket handkerchiefs into comfits—and a box full of bran into a box full of—a live guinea-pig! would enable him to make a handsome subsistence, let the bookseller trade go as it please! Then the dancing . . . Dickens did all but go down on his knees to make *me*—waltz with him! But I thought I did my part well enough in talking the maddest nonsense with *him*, Forster, Thackeray and Maclise . . .

" . . . twelve o'clock! Whereupon we all rushed to the cloak-room—and there and in the lobby and up to the last moment the mirth raged on. Dickens took home Thackeray and Forster with him and his wife ' to finish the night there ' and a *royal* night they would have of it I fancy!—ending perhaps with a visit to the watch-house " (Jane Carlyle to Jeannie Welsh, Thursday, 23rd December, 1843).—" Jane Welsh Carlyle, a new selection of her letters," arranged by Trudy Bliss. (Gollancz.)

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MONCKTON MILNES

" Probably Milnes, like Dickens, submitted to the influence of d'Orsay in his clothes, though the result was less noticeable and less vulgar than Dickens' imitations of ' Cupid's ' cuffs and curls.

" Standing there watching and waiting [for a public execution] Thackeray was impressed by the greasy, dissolute, faded air of most of the young people—chiefly London under-world, he reflected, an underworld contrasting most sharply with Dickens' idealised portrait-types, such as Nancy, the thief's mistress. Boz, he said in his article, did not dare tell this truth. Thackeray's descriptions of some of the characters in the crowd are far

closer to the brilliant, sordid realism of Arthur Morrison than they are to Dickens' and Cruikshank's more acceptably comic or pathetic interpretations of poverty and vice.

" Thackeray's humane article and Milnes' continued activities against public hanging made no immediate impression on London. In 1849 Dickens, who had ' considerable experience of executions,' wrote his famous letter to ' The Times ' in which he described the ' wickedness and levity ' of the crowd which had gone to see Mr. and Mrs. Manning hanged. At length, in 1868, a law was passed providing for the private and intermural execution of condemned criminals.

" ' Society is unhinged by her majesty's marriage,' Charles Dickens wrote in February, 1840, to Landor, then grumbling away in his house at Bath. Dickens himself was indeed unhinged by this great event, or at any rate in a state of high excitement about it. Accepting his first invitation to breakfast at 26 Pall Mall on 7th February, three days before the royal wedding (and by a coincidence his own twenty-eighth birthday), he took the opportunity to send Richard Monckton Milnes transcriptions of the songs being sung (he said) in the London streets :

> So let 'em say, whate'er they may
> Or do whate'er they can ;
> Prince Hallbert he will always be
> My own dear Fancy man.

" These and other verses were coupled with the extemporised conversation about ' Saxe-Humbug ' and ' Go-to-Her ' in the vein of Sam Weller, but rather coarser than the young novelists's reading public might have relished. Dickens' jokes were mild in comparison with the examples of club wit (mostly turning upon the Queen's virginity) which Milnes was himself inscribing . . . in his daybook ; and not in his day book only."—" Monckton Milnes," by James Pope-Hennessy. (Constable.)

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CARDUS ON DICKENS

" Then I found Dickens, after much tramping of streets from lending library to lending library. The attendants behind the counters, spinsters of severe countenance, with pince-nez never quite straight, would most times tartly say ' None in,' meaning that not one novel by Dickens remained on the shelves ; all were out and being read. Often I was obliged to wait weeks. One night, after traversing several Manchester municipalities in vain search of *Copperfield* or *Chuzzlewit* or *Bleak House* or *Nickleby* or *Dombey and Son*. I wandered tired and disconsolate into a general news-room of one of these libraries, having been finally repulsed from the lending counter with an even more than usually acidulous ' None in.' I sat down at a table and by chance picked up the ' Athenaeum ' and read an article in which I was informed that Dickens was no longer being read ; taste apparently was at last appreciating the finer literary sensibility possessed by Thackeray. I was bewildered. If Dickens was ' no longer being read,' why could I so seldom get one of his novels out of the muncipal lending libraries ? At the age of sixteen I did not realise that when a literary critic declares that nobody is reading a certain author he really means that nobody in his own particular coterie is reading him.

" Discovering Dickens is one of the few really important events that occur in mortal life, like first love, or hearing music for the first time with understanding ears, or finding out that wine is not as nasty as it tastes if your first sip is taken while you are too young, and that food is not just so many meals to be eaten for the sake of sustenance. I am still of the opinion that human beings can confidently be divided into two broad classes, those who have it in them from birth onwards to appreciate Dickens, and those who haven't. The second group should be avoided as soon as detected . . .

" But Dickens is not fully to be explored until late in one's years, though from the beginning he is the most real of story-tellers, almost a teller of fairy tales, or of old moralities deprived of the obviously didactic homilies. It is his genius for the creation of a populous world that makes him appeal to an enormous body of readers in every age, and his power to transform crude melodrama into credible yet fantastic life by setting it in places we have all been at some time or other ; then mightiest of all his gifts, he endows his characters, a whole London census of them, with a freedom of the will that impels them here, there and everywhere in abounding confusion and irrelevance, taking the author himself with them, as well as the rest of us, so that he not less than his readers turns the pages over wondering what is going to happen next . . . "—" Second Innings," by Neville Cardus. (Collins.)

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DOSTOEVSKY

" The ban on all reading material, except the New Testament, in prison was one of the hardest deprivations to bear. News of the world outside rarely penetrated the walls, for newspapers and magazines were also forbidden. Once, during a siege of illness, he managed to procure in the prison hospital translations of *Pickwick Papers* and *David Copperfield*, which he read with the delight of a book-starved man.

" The conception of Nellie [in ' The Insulted and Injured '] was unquestionably suggested by Dickens's Little Nell. It will be recalled that Dostoevsky had read certain of Dickens's works in the prison hospital at Omsk, and he continued to read and admire them for the remainder of his life, and in some cases was much influenced by them. There is a vast difference, however, between Dostoevsky's Nellie and her prototype in *The Old Curiosity Shop*. Like Dostoevsky, Dickens was deeply concerned in his fiction with the problems of children, but his creations can hardly be called ' thinking children.' He is more intent upon wringing our hearts and draining the last tear of pity for his abused minors. In the

depiction of Nellie, Dostoevsky also comes very close to the border of sentimentality, and perhaps on occasions he crosses the border. Nevertheless, against an unusual background her puzzling nature and strange actions seem true to the experiences of life, and the characterisation remains convincing and altogether absorbing.

" It is very likely that Micawber and his long-suffering brood were in Dostoevsky's mind when he conceived Marmeladov and his family [in ' Crime and Punishment ']. The seriousness and psychological depth in the portrayal of this chronic drunkard, however, make him much less a caricature than Dickens's amiable creation." —" Dostoevsky, the Making of a Novelist," by E. J. Simmons. (Lehmann.)

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BROWNING

" Neither the subject nor the treatment was to Macready's liking. Still he needed fresh material for the stage. After consulting with Forster, he agreed to let him submit it [' A Blot on the 'Scutcheon '] to his friend Charles Dickens, well qualified to judge of the passions of the human heart. Dickens let another year go by before giving his verdict, but when he did, it turned the scales in Browning's favor.

" ' Browning's play,' wrote Dickens on the 25th November, 1842, ' has thrown me into a perfect passion of sorrow. To say that there is anything in its subject save what is lovely, true, deeply affecting, full of the best emotion, the most earnest feeling and the most true and tender source of interest, is to say that there is no light in the sun, and no heat in the blood. It is full of genius, natural and great thoughts, profound and yet simple and beautiful in its vigor . . . I know no love like it, no passion like it, no moulding of a splendid thing after its conception like it. And I swear it is a tragedy that MUST be played ; and must be played, moreover, by Macready. There are some things I would have changed if I could (they are very slight . . .). But the tragedy I shall never forget, or less vividly remember, then I do now. And if you tell Browning that I have seen it, tell him that I believe from my soul there is no man living (and not many dead) who could produce such a work.'

" For reasons best known to Forster and Macready, Browning never received the message that would have heartened him through that discouraging period, nor did he know of the letter until he read it in Forster's ' Life of Charles Dickens ' in 1873. Suddenly, however, Browning heard from Macready that he accepted the tragedy for production."—" The Immortal Lovers, Elizabeth Barrett and Robert Browning," by F. Winwar. (Harper.)

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COACHING DAYS

" A pen picture by a contemporary writer, delineating the typical mail coach driver, is worthy of note. It has reference to the visit of Charles Dickens and Wilkie Collins to Carlisle in 1857. ' The novelists were walking from the Pineapple Hotel towards the Lonsdale Monument when they observed quite an original character standing at the old Victoria Hotel door. Dickens, considered to be one of the finest judges of character who ever lived, was not slow to take notice of the landlord, Aaron Martin, the celebrated mail coach driver. Always ' dressed to death,' as they used to say in those days, wearing his hat to one side of his head, and displaying a double-breasted vest of fancy pattern, his thumbs stuck in the armpits, and smoking a cigar, it is little wonder that he excited the interest of the novelists.

" Dickens is credited with remarking to Collins that here they had found a character. They went into the Hotel, and the landlord followed and joined in their refreshment."—" Lang Syne in Eskdale," by D. J. Beattie. (Thurnam, Carlisle.)

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AMERICA OR RUSSIA ?

" Charles Dickens died the year Lenin was born, 1870, but the Englishman all unwittingly wrote a fine description of Communist Russia in the years of the Long Armistice. Dickens misnamed it and misdated it, but it will serve. He called it, not Russia in 1930, but the United States in 1830, yet anyone who will read the American episode in *Martin Chuzzlewit* and compare it with the reports of travellers in Russia a hundred years later can hardly fail to be struck by the similarity. Manners and customs were different, certainly, but the spirit was identical—the exuberance running into braggadocio, the insane self-confidence, the incredible ignorance of the rest of the world and the lordly contempt for it, are exactly similar."—" Incredible Tale," by G. W. Johnson. (Harper.)

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Alsterlund (L. J.) : The visit to Moline, Illinois, of Captain Francis Jeffrey Dickens, son of Charles Dickens, the English novelist. [With photograph of his grave at Moline.] (Vol. 18, July, 1925.)

Weber (J. P.) : The visit to Illinois of Charles Dickens, 1842 ; of his sons, Francis Jeffrey Dickens, in 1886, and Alfred Tennyson Dickens, in 1911. (Vol. 18, July, 1925.)

L. B. F.

N.W. REGIONAL GROUP CONFERENCE

ALL branches of the N.W. Regional Group were well represented at an enjoyable one-day Conference held in the Cotton Exchange Buildings, Liverpool, on Saturday, April 29th, 1950.

Miss Irene Howes (Liverpool), who presided, extended a cordial welcome to delegates and gave an interesting address on Dickens's associations with Liverpool.

The Group Secretary reported a very satisfactory year of inter-branch activities and an increase in membership throughout the Group. Among several items of Dickensian interest discussed at the meeting, it was agreed that preliminary arrangements should be made at a subsequent Group Council Meeting, with a view to presenting a dramatic evening at Preston, in which members from all branches should take part.

At the close of the meeting Mr. and Mrs. R. W. Thomas (Liverpool) contributed an entertaining half-hour of songs and recitals and after an enjoyable high tea, Miss Howes was cordially thanked for excellent services rendered, on the proposition of Mr. Stanley Sutton (Manchester), seconded by Mrs. Halewood (Preston). Sincere thanks were expressed to Liverpool Branch for the first-class arrangements they had made for the Conference and Mr. Kelly (President, Liverpool) responded.

The following officers were elected for season 1950-51 : Miss Irene Howes (Liverpool), Chairman ; Mr. T. H. Moffett (Manchester), Vice-Chairman ; Mr. Leo Mason (Blackburn), Hon. Secretary ; Mr. G. H. Mackrell (Manchester), Hon. Treasurer ; Mrs. J. A. Wood (Preston), Chairman-elect (1951-52).

L. M.

BLACKBURN

CONCLUDING her term of office as President of the Blackburn Branch of the Dickens Fellowship, Mrs. N. W. E. Hamm brought to an end a very successful session. Membership of the branch increased and several members contributed excellent papers on Dickensian topics. The Dramatic Section provided two entertaining evenings of sketches from the novels, and contact with other branches has been well maintained by interchange of speakers The Birthday was celebrated by an enjoyable dinner and social. The session concluded with a visit of a large party of members from Manchester Branch. together with representatives from other branches. Mr. John Greaves (Hon. Secretary, H.Q., London) was a very welcome guest on this occasion and contributed to a programme of excellent recitals arranged by the Manchester members. The annual subscription to the branch is 10*s.* 6*d.* inclusive of *The Dickensian* magazine, and meetings are held fortnightly. Light refreshments are served at all meetings and by good management and the co-operation of all members a profit of six pounds was made on the ordinary year's working. In addition, the Social Committee arranged a number of enjoyable social events, the proceeds of which were in aid of the Dexter Memorial Fund.

L. M.

LIVERPOOL

THE Liverpool Branch has enjoyed a very happy and successful season and increased its membership by 14 enthusiastic new members. The highlight of the ordinary meetings was the visit of the Hon. Secretary of the Fellowship, Mr. John Greaves, who not only gave members great pleasure, but so delighted an American visitor that in the course of a charming tribute she remarked that she wished Mr. Greaves could be exported to America. We were also delighted to welcome friends from other branches in the North-West Regional Group, who gave us most enjoyable evenings. Our " Members' Evening " was revived, and members old and new gave us of their best. The Dickens House Endowment Fund was not neglected and a " Bring and Buy " raised the sum of £31 10*s.* 0*d.* for this purpose. On the social side we enjoyed a very happy Christmas Party, and an equally happy Birthday Dinner, at both of which we welcomed with pleasure members from other branches in the North-West Regional Group.

I. V. H.

THE thanks of the entire Fellowship are offered to the following retiring secretaries : Miss M. Stetser, Chester, Pa., Mr. Bernard Bloom, Liverpool, and Mr. Gordon K. Allen, Vancouver. To their successors, Mrs. J. O'Brien, Miss I. V. Howes, and Mr. Arthur E. Newell, respectively, we offer our congratulations and best wishes.

A HEARTY welcome to Britain is offered to : Mrs. H. W. Parks, Adelaide ; Mrs. Livingston Stebbings, Boston ; Miss Murray, Brisbane ; Miss Durrieu, Auckland ; and Mrs. H. Laler, Melbourne.

Emma Mary Newbery

Surviving her husband for only four months, Mrs. E. M. Newbery died at her home at Westcliff-on-Sea on June 19th at the age of 78. She had been a prominent member of the Southend Branch since its early days, had served on the committee for a great many years, and was largely instrumental in establishing the "Tiny Tim Cot" in the Southend General Hospital, for which purpose she was indefatigable in the dramatic work of the branch. Her own adaptation of *The Chimes*, in which her husband played Trotty Veck, is one of the best remembered of Southend's many excellent productions. A resident of the district for 45 years, she played a large part in her husband's important catering business, was a Vice-President of the local A.D. & O.S., a member of the Music Club, and the Townswomen's Guild for which latter society she was responsible for a highly-appreciated series of talks on the Women of Dickens. Her election as President of the Southend Branch of the Dickens Fellowship in 1946, a post she held until 1949, gave her great pride and pleasure. During this period she presided over the Conference held in Southend in 1948. A year later Mr. and Mrs. Newbery gave a donation of £100 to the Dickens House Endowment Fund. Dickens had no more enthusiastic admirer than Mrs. Newbery and her frequent acts of unostentatious kindliness were imbued with the spirit of his "love of humanity." The Fellowship, and especially the Southend Branch, has suffered an irreparable loss.

We also regret to record the death of: Miss A. Buxton, Preston; Mr. Frank Lucking, Rugby; Mrs. Robertson, Headquarters; Mrs. W. S. Titus, New York.

Dr. W. H. Atherton

The Montreal Branch mourns the loss of its *Grand Old Man*, William Henry Atherton, Ph.D., Litt.D., LL.D., who died on July 6th in his 83rd year. A native of Salford, Lancs., he was educated at Stonyhurst and trained as a teacher. Migrating to Canada in 1907, he became a member of the staff of Loyola College, and later was appointed Professor of English at the Université de Montreal, a post which he held until his retirement three years ago. The Doctor, as he was affectionately called, was a man of many activities. In addition to his professorial duties, he found time to write the *History of Montreal* in three volumes, which is conceded by French and English critics alike to be the standard work on this great bi-lingual city. He was a pioneer in the promotion of welfare work among the Catholic sailors visiting the port; and he was prominent and active in every movement for the improvement and well-being of the community. The Doctor's activities were internationally recognised. He was a recipient of the King George V Jubilee Medal, and he was further honoured with the M.B.E. In his own church he was a Papal Knight of St. Gregory the Great, and he was honoured more than once by France for his literary achievements and his work among the sailors. But as those who knew him intimately can testify, few things gave him greater pleasure than the fact that he had played a prominent part in bringing the Montreal Branch of the Fellowship into being. Not only was he a "charter member," but he was the first Vice-President, and two years later had the honour of filling the Presidential Chair. Right on to the end, though latterly he was confined to his room, he showed that the welfare of the Branch was ever present in his thoughts. Apart from his interest in Dickens's novels, which he practically knew off by heart, his enthusiasm for things Dickensian was no doubt intensified by the happy recollection that when a young teacher at Beaumont College in England, he had two grandsons of the novelist among his pupils, Mr. Henry Charles Dickens and Admiral Sir Gerald Charles Dickens. A.P.

Elsie A. Darkin

The Gloucester Branch has sustained a great loss by the sudden death of its President, Miss E. A. Darkin, which occurred on August 3rd. Miss Darkin had been a member of the Branch almost since its inception; she became its Secretary on its revival after the war and was elected President in September last. She delighted to recall her father's descriptions of Dickens's Readings, which he heard in Gloucester, and her own interpretations were greatly appreciated both in her native city and far beyond. Miss Darkin was a lifelong member of Gloucester Presbyterian Church of which she was an Elder for eight years; for twenty-seven years she was Secretary of the Women's Nursing Association and for many years was an active member of the Gloucester Orchestral Society, in which she played the violin. H.S.

THE DICKENS FELLOWSHIP.

BALANCE SHEET AS AT 31ST DECEMBER, 1948.

LIABILITIES.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Sundry Creditors		117 3 11
Life Membership Fund—		
As at 31st December, 1947		574 17 6
Special Reserve		833 7 6
Costume Department Fund		342 17 3
Advertising Fund		75 2 10
Jubilee Fund		2 13 0
Walter Dexter Memorial Fund—		
As at 31st December, 1947	9 10 6	
Profit on sale of Badges	5 1 5	
	14 11 11	
Less Payment to Dickens House	12 19 0	
		1 12 11
Unexpired Balance of Receipts for Charitable Purposes		269 2 0
Income and Expenditure Account—		
Balance at 31st December, 1947	756 5 10	
Add Excess of Income over Expenditure for the Year	146 5 2	
	902 11 0	
Less Loss on *The Dickensian* £50 8 9		
Loss on *Life of Dickens* £20 8 2		
	70 16 11	
		831 14 1
		£3048 11 0

ASSETS.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Life Membership Fund Investment, at cost—		
£549 16*s.* 1*d.* 4% Consolidated Stock		574 17 3
(Market Value 31st December, 1948, £596 10*s.* 8*d.*)		
Investment of Special Donation, at cost—		
£118 5*s.* 10*d.* 4% Consolidated Stock		105 0 0
(Market Value 31st December, 1948, £128 6*s.* 10*d.*)		
Library, Pictures and Furniture (including items loaned to Dickens House, Museum and Library)—		
As at 31st December, 1948	23 15 3	
Less Depreciation at 10% per annum	2 7 6	
		21 7 9
The Tyrrell Collection of Photographic Negatives, at cost		75 0 0
Costume Department—		
Costumes at Nominal Value	100 0 0	
Cash at Bankers and in Hand	242 17 3	
		342 17 3
The Dickens House—		
Loan Account	550 0 0	
Add Interest accrued thereon	10 0 0	
Current Account	176 10 0	
		736 10 0
Stock of Badges on Hand		10 14 6
The Dickensian—		
Current Account	134 9 9	
Less Loss for the year	50 8 9	
		84 1 0
Amounts paid in Advance		33 18 6
Subscriptions in Advance		109 10 3
Balance at Bankers and Cash in Hand		954 14 6
		£3048 11 0

We have examined the above Balance Sheet with the books and vouchers of The Dickens Fellowship and certify the same to be in accordance therewith.
We have also verified the Investments.

4b Frederick's Place, Old Jewry, London, E.C.2
28th September, 1949

(*Signed*) WHINNEY, SMITH & WHINNEY,
Chartered Accountants,
Hon. Auditors.

THE DICKENS HOUSE

BALANCE SHEET AS AT 31ST DECEMBER, 1948.

LIABILITIES.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
The Dickens Fellowship—		
Loan	550 0 0	
Interest Accrued thereon	10 0 0	
	560 0 0	
Add Current Account	176 10 0	
		736 10 0
Sundry Creditors and Accrued Charges		28 13 7
Adelaide H. Garland Memorial Gift		102 19 9
Walter Dexter Memorial Fund		4003 9 11
Balance—		
As at 31st December, 1947	5347 12 4	
Add Excess of Income over Expenditure for the year to 31st December, 1948	57 4 8	
		5404 17 0
		£10276 10 3

ASSETS.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Freehold Property—		
Nos. 48 and 49 Doughty Street, at Cost		5108 5 2
Furniture and Fittings, at cost, less depreciation at 31st December, 1947	198 3 4	
Additions during the year	22 16 9	
	221 0 1	
Less Depreciation for the year	11 1 0	
		209 19 1
Library and Museum at Cost—		
As at 31st December, 1947	142 11 2	
Additions during the year	50 0 0	
		192 11 2
Stock of Pictures, Postcards, China, etc.—		
Certified by the Hon. Secretary		45 11 2
Adelaide H. Garland Memorial Gift Investment—		
£188 5*s.* 9*d.* 2½% Consolidated Stock, at Cost		102 19 9
(Held by the Official Trustees of Charitable Funds)		
(Market Value 31st December, 1948, £148 14*s.* 11*d.*)		
Walter Dexter Memorial Fund Investments—		
£1792 14*s.* 0*d.* 3½% Commonwealth of Australia Stock	2000 0 0	
£1,000 2½% Defence Bonds	1000 0 0	
(Held by the Official Trustees of Charitable Funds)		
(Market Value 31st December, 1948, £2,855 8*s.* 10*d.*)		
Post Office Savings Bank Deposit Account	508 6 8	
		3508 6 8
Payments in Advance	45 3 6	
The Dickensian	43 5 2	
		88 8 8
Balance at Bankers and Cash in Hand		1020 8 7
		£10276 10 3

We have examined the above Balance Sheet with the books and vouchers of The Dickens House and certify it to be in accordance therewith. We have also verified the Investments.

4b Frederick's Place, Old Jewry, London, E.C.2.
28*th September*, 1949.

(*Signed*) WHINNEY, SMITH & WHINNEY,
Chartered Accountants,
Hon. Auditors.

Broadstairs Annual Dickens Festival

1950

OCTOBER 18th-21st inclusive

Organised by the Broadstairs Branch of the Dickens Fellowship

DICKENS PLAY "BLEAK HOUSE"

Play by Gladys Waterer
Production by James Leach

DICKENSIAN RECITAL CONDUCTED TOURS

Other Attractions

Official Programme, price 4d., will be on sale later.

Further particulars of the Festival may be obtained from Miss D. L. Tattam, Hon. Sec., Broadstairs Branch Dickens Fellowship, Dickens House, Broadstairs

THE DICKENS FELLOWSHIP

London Meetings

Friday, October 6th.—"The Mystery of 'Edwin Drood'" Sir Arthur Comyns Carr, K.C.

Saturday, October 14th.—Ramble, "Dickens among the Ruins": Mr. T. V. Brewer.
Meet: St. Paul's Tube Station, 2.30 p.m.

Monday, October 30th.—Lecture: "Dickensian Biography—From Forster to the Present Day," by Mr. T. W. Hill.

Saturday, November 11th.—Visit to a Meeting of the Antient Society of Cogers. Strictly limited.

Wednesday, November 22nd.—Recital by Mr. John Greaves—*Doctor Marigold*, who will also conduct a Bring and Buy Sale. 6.0 for 6.30 p.m.†

Monday, December 11th.—Christmas Party at Scrooge's Nephew's (Conway Hall, Red Lion Square). Tickets 10/6 each.

Monday, December 18th.—"Dickens's View of Life," by Mr. McEwan Lawson.

All meetings, unless otherwise stated, to be held at 7 p.m., at Swedenborg Hall, 20/22 Bloomsbury Way, W.C.1.

† The meeting on November 22nd, 6.0 for 6.30 p.m.

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Full particulars of the Fellowship and forms of Membership can be obtained from any of the Secretaries.

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